ARCHAEOLOGY and ENVIRONMENT 20

Elke Rogersdotter The Forgotten: an Approach on Harappan Toy Artefacts

If traditionally toy identified artefacts would show up as not being randomly scattered around but regulated, possibly indicating visible patterns, would these finds be able to tell archaeology something of relevance?
In this study, more than 4,000 year old fragments of toy interpreted terracotta carts and pottery discs will be invited to tell their stories.

Based on an analysis of toy interpreted materials from a coastal Harappan settlement in Gujarat, India, this study deals with a neglected field of research in archaeology, exploring a way of approaching this kind of objects without being forced to abandon their toy identifications. Placing them within a socially emphasized framework, the artefacts suggest a diverse social significance *due to* their supposed role as toys. Successively, they will emerge as items partaking in daily practices, contributing to an ongoing regulation of relationships between adults and children as well.

With this, a way into an elusive, yet essential, children's world seems possible; a realm that indeed appears to hold a key to the complex simultaneity of change and continuity within social structures.



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DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY AND SAMI STUDIES

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Abstract

This thesis proposes an alternative perspective to the general neglect of toy materials from deeper analysis in archaeology. Based on a study of selected toy artefacts from the Classical Harappan settlement at Bagasra, Gujarat, it suggests a viable way of approaching the objects when considering them within a theoretical framework highlighting their social aspects. The study agrees with objections in e.g. parts of gender archaeology and research on children in archaeology to the extrapolating from the marginalized child of the West onto past social structures. Departing from revised toy definitions formulated in disciplines outside archaeology, it proceeds with the objects' toy identifications while rejecting a 'transforming' of these into other interpretations. Thus entering a quite unexplored research field, grounded theory is used as working method. As the items indicate a regulated pattern, the opinion on toy artefacts as randomly scattered around becomes questioned. Using among others the *capital* concept by Bourdieu, the notion of *micropower* by Foucault and parts of the newly developed ideas of *microarchaeology*, the toy-role of the artefacts is emphasized as crucial, enabling the items to express diverse social uses in addition to their possible function as children's (play)things. With this, the notion of the limiting connection of toys to playing children becomes unravelled, opening for a discussion on enlarged dimensions of the toys and a possible re-naming of them as the materialities of next generation. While suggesting the items to indicate various social strategies and structurating practices, the need for traditional boundaries and separated entities successively becomes eliminated. The traditionally stated toy obstacles with cultural loading and elusive distinctions can with this be proposed as constructions, possible to avoid. The toy concept simultaneously emerges as particularly useful in highlighting the notion of change and continuity within the social structure and children's roles in this.

Key words: South Asia, Indus Civilization, toys, children, social theory, microarchaeology, change-continuity

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Licentiate thesis
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Some key words and spellings

Chalcolithic while this term generally refers to farming communities which used copper tools and items, within the Harappan realm it is used to describe Pre-Harappan and Post-Harappan sites as well as settlements contemporary to and in varying degrees affiliated with Classical Harappan features (pers. comm., Ajithprasad 2004).

Classical Harappan to define the type features from the Indus valley proper and adjoining regions, the term Classical Harappan has been applied while this seems less loaded with problematic consequences than terms like Urban or Sindhi Harappan (pers. comm., Ajithprasad 2004).

Harappa several names are given to the cultural complex of this study, like Indus Civilization, Harappa culture, Indus-Saraswati Civilization etc. The term Harappa is chosen here instead of Indus while this constitutes the definition used by among others the official report of the excavations at Bagasra (Sonawane *et al.* 2003), which is frequently referred to in this study.

Hopscotch the term 'hopscotch' which in this thesis is used in connection with the type of artefact depicting a grounded pottery disc, is here to be understood in a broader sense. That is, not only to be associated with the well-known game consisting of squares drawn in different ways onto the ground (whereby the player in turn have to jump from square to square following particular rules), but rather to be seen as an umbrella term, referring to similar sorts of 'outdoor' games as well like the piling of pottery discs into heaps that have to be knocked down etc. An illustrative parallel may be the various ways of playing with marbles, for example.

Kachchh the spelling of this Gujarat region has been chosen while this is to be found in the references most frequently used by me in the area and site presentations (Sonawane & Ajithprasad 1994; Sonawane *et al.* 2003).

Mohenjo Daro this spelling is used by one of today's main researchers of this site, Jansen (e.g. 2002), and therefore chosen here.

Slip this refers to the liquid mixture of clay and water that is applied, generally before firing, on pottery and terracotta items. The reasons may be twofold: to give the item a fine surface and nice colour, and, in case of pottery, to make it more watertight (Bray & Trump 1982:224; pers. comm., Krishnan 2004).

Terracotta this is to be understood here in its archaeological terms; that is, while pottery refers to function (vessels and the like), terracotta consequently refers to those clay items that are not defined as pottery (pers. comm., Krishnan 2004).

Contents

Figures and Tables

(In order of appearance; Figures and Tables that are to be found in an appendix are marked with App. before page no.)

1. Introduction

What are you saying, crude little thing…?

I was born long ago,
hidden under thousand layers shortly after;
I carried loadings, rolled on wheels,
I was on duty, yes, what days! I'll tell you…

No……..…7125
Object…...Toy cart frame
Material….TC
Trench..….Ei15
Layer……7; 170 cm
Remarks…Dismissed!

This classification, except the last word, derives from the artefact book of excavations which have been carried out at a small Harappan site near a little village named Bagasra (Artefact book of Bagasra excavations 1996-2004:350).

The note after 'Remarks', however, is my own addition.

Sometimes, archaeological artefacts are given the designation 'toy'. Such designations can be found in a variety of literature and in different archaeological accounts. They have for example been offered to small porcelain rabbits from the Sung dynasty in China, to preserved balls from Ancient Egypt, to moveable terracotta bulls from Harappan sites, to a particular bone idol in a child's burial belonging to the Neolithic Linearbandkeramik culture, to a set of miniature cooking utensils from 13th Century Maharashtra…[1]

In a search, however, of these past children's utensils by using the search words *archaeology* and *toys* in the computer base of the Swedish library catalogue *Libris*, the result turns out strangely meagre: the screen has almost no literature to suggest. With one single book as the catch of the day, about the benefit of children's toys and written by a researcher at the Department of Educational Studies at the University of Uppsala, exceedingly present-day and borrowed as compensation, I walk away wondering about the scarcity of toy perspectives, particularly in more recent archaeological research.

The book soon leads me to other writings. In disciplines such as cultural anthropology, sociology and educational studies an astonishing wealth of literature on the toy turns up. It is analysed under magnifier, dissected, various properties of it called attention to. Eventually, while looking through the volumes, the universality of the toy becomes more or less cut down. A number of scholars concludes it a time- and space- demarcated concept solely belonging to the contemporary Western sphere and thus inappropriate to apply on other cultures (for a comprehensive review, see for example Lönnqvist 1992).

May this be the cause for the almost invisible toy when considering more recent and problem-oriented archaeological studies?

Using the adjacent search word *children* and adding it to *archaeology*, which not offers a lot of material either, I find a recent account with the promising title *Children and Material Culture*. There is, however, not that much information about the very toy to be read despite the fact that the contributions are dealing with aspects of children's materials. One comes across writings in which the toy rather seems to be excluded in different ways. In a consideration on miniature grave goods in Anglo-Saxon child burials, for example, earlier interpretations of the goods as toys are rejected while it is argued that they more likely express adult-centred meaning, constituting "/…/part of the adult burial ritual." (Crawford 2000:170).

[1] These examples may in turn be found in White's (1971:47) study on antique toys; in Fraser's (1966:24) exposition on toys through history; in the account by Sharma (2003:49) on Harappan terracottas; in the analysis by Simoneit (1997:72f) of children's evidences within the Neolithic Linearbandkeramik cultural sphere; in the exhibition room for children in the Raja Dinkar Kelkar Museum in Pune, Maharashtra (April 2004).

Another statement, connected to the inappropriateness of the toy concept emphasized by other disciplines, seems to form a further clue: the reason behind the avoidance of the toy in more recent archaeology is according to Sofaer Derevenski due to the striving to avoid stereotypes and search for alternative approaches towards children in the archaeological record (Sofaer Derevenski according to Wilkie 2000:101). While doubting the usefulness of the toy for archaeological artefacts, she concludes that traditional identifications of miniature items as toys are nothing but ideas related to the Western view of the passive and marginalized 'child'. While shortly noting the complexity in the attempt to search for purpose-built toys, she states a newly emerged focus on material traces that seeks to understand issues of socialising and learning as a more fruitful area of study (Sofaer Derevenski 2000a:6f).

Similar examples can be found when proceeding into the field of gender archaeology for more insight in the matter. A particular case study mentioned by Gilchrist (1999:96) suggests for example earlier toy interpreted material, consisting of specific doll figurines connected with young girls in Ancient Athens, as rather related to a cultic sphere, linked to female health and initiation to adulthood.

Being thus informed about the impossibility of the archaeological toy, a preferable option would perhaps be to give up the search. One can, however, hardly overlook the existence of the designated toys. Classified, yet quite untouched by research, they indeed constitute an assembly significant enough, according to my opinion, to call for closer attention.

The literature of the Harappan sphere lists an amount of toy designated items: terracotta figurines and miniatures representing buffaloes, dogs, bulls able to wag the tails they do not have any more or turn their lost heads, small carts and striped rattles, wheels and tops, penguin-like birds, birds to whistle in, birds on wheels, bears, unicorns, squirrels, imaginative creatures and so on. In general, they appear to have received their 'unproblematic' toy identifications by traditional research: "In Mackay's opinion, these terracottas were likewise nothing more than children's toys." (Ardeleanu-Jansen 1991:174), whereas more recent approaches can be found questioning their validity (e.g. Ardeleanu-Jansen 2002), and the scarcity of deepened studies on toy materials is obvious. In other words: is the designation toy for an archaeological artefact the same as its exclusion from any further analysis? It may be worth noting the simultaneous adding of deepened information of the ritual function of the earlier toy identified materials from Ancient Athens to the mentioning of their changed definition (Gilchrist 1999:96). Within the Harappan sphere, there are particular types of traditionally toy interpreted objects, like female terracotta figurines or miniature bulls, which in a similar way seem to have received more attention in analyses than average while being suggested to have ritual connections (e.g. Ardeleanu-Jansen 1991; Jarrige 1991).

May thus the only hope for the suspended be a circumvention of the toy designation to reach a value worth continued research? Is an escape the only possibility for a designation that on one hand seems deemed unserious and empty of archaeological information, and on the other is stated a blind alley of Western thought?

The very existence of the listed toy objects seems however to disapprove to such an idea of incredible muteness. Should not the items at least point at *some* sort of inscribed meaning, tell us of *some* intentional use? Set within a cultural complex that, in contrast to Ancient Egypt or Mesopotamia, still holds large parts of itself in obscurity, possibly partly due to its undeciphered script and in prolongation tentatively giving the impression of not fitting too well into general explanation models, the Harappan toy materials thus indeed make a rejection to my initial question impossible: what may happen if one refuses to escape the toy designation?

The carts, buffaloes, dogs and penguin-like creatures gaze out of the books. 'Are you unserious and empty?' I dare not ask them, due to fear of offending. 'Have you not, really, anything to say?'

…of course we have. We'll
tell you, listener…

Objectives

My wish is to explore a way of approaching Harappan toy interpreted materials without having to abandon the toy concept. For this purpose, I aim to analyse a selection of toy interpreted artefacts from a Classical Harappan settlement. I am of course aware of the impossibility of stating the items solely and with certainty as toys; an item may have functioned only part of its life as a toy, or may have had completely different or multiple functions. However, instead of stopping short at dichotomies such as toy/ritual object, with what appears as the quite common choice either of the ritual way or no way at all, I want to put the question different. By an initial 'negative definition' through the act of exclusion (by defining the items, since these have been found in connection with habitation layers, as, for instance, presumably *not* constituting rare relics of some officially stated elite cult, *not* being parts of farming activity, *not* used as tool sets and so on), I suggest first of all that a delimitation of the items can be done to the household sphere. Having surrounded people (children included!) in their daily life, they stand out as domestic objects, necessarily inscribed with some kind of meaning. Thus, they must in some way or the other have had an influence on children growing up among them. In connection with this field of thought, an interesting point is made by Hodder and Cessford (2003). In their arguing for the house and household as essential mechanisms for the change towards sedentary life within the Neolithic settlement at Çatalhöyük, they claim bodily repetitions of daily practices within the house and their embedding into a constructed, social memory as essential aspects for the process of socialisation. When

> /…/a child grows up within routinized domestic space, it learns that particular practices, movements/…/are positively valued while others are not. The child learns social rules in the practices of daily life within the house. In this way daily practices become social practices/…/. (Hodder & Cessford 2003:132).

Thus, by emphasizing the role of the objects within daily routines, approaching them within a theoretical framework highlighting their social aspects, it follows a focus on the social dimension of things as well as a widened view of the toy concept. This can be suggested to support and thus form a kind of 'back way' for my attempt to embark from the items' toy identifications to try the until now quite untrodden toy path to see what will happen. Due to its pioneering character and the tender management of the materials this may require, the concepts of *grounded theory* will be used as working method. On account of the striving towards a meaningful ordering, the following discussions and questions are formulated:

- Discussion about differences and similarities of a particular toy material. Are differences and similarities, respectively, to be seen? May they be interpreted in terms of quality? What socially focused indications may they suggest?

- Discussion about the simultaneity of differences and similarities of the same toy material. If differences and similarities are existent, what may the simultaneity of them point at? What kinds of relations are shown?

- Discussion about the simultaneity of two 'sorts' of toy material. What happens when a new type of toy is added to the analysed material? Will differences and similarities be found in a similar way within this type? How might the first material be interpreted in the presence of the second and vice versa?

As a last step, I aim to return to the idea of the toy concept to investigate its alleged problematic appearance and, based on the patterns of analysis, discuss whether it could be able to contribute something of relevance for archaeological research:

- Discussion about the concept of the toy. What constitutes the problem currently surrounding the toy? Is it possible to 'solve' and is the toy concept of any 'use'?

Outline of the thesis[2]

The study will begin with a closer insight into the research areas of toys and (due to their close connection) children. Because of the scarce approaches found in archaeology, the review of Chapter 2 will start with an outline of research in various other disciplines. It will present both traditional ideas and alternative views which have developed more recently in some disciplines. Secondly, it will turn to the field of archaeology where research on the subject mostly concern different approaches towards children. Narrowing the perspective the more, it will lastly observe attempts on the subject within Harappan research. Here, it will also include research done within the area of gender archaeology. Due to the contradictory views on the toy and the problems deemed to follow it, the insight will simultaneously end up in a consideration on useful toy- and child definitions, indeed essential for the study's possibility to continue.

Chapter 3 deals with the particular nature of the working method and way of analysis. The materials of study and main parts of the working process are presented together with a critical notice on material and methodological limitations as well as their credibility. This is followed by a deepened description of grounded theory and its specific application on this thesis.

Chapter 4 introduces the context of the selected materials. As a number of readers will be quite unfamiliar with the Harappan realm, the introduction begins with an overall description of various Harappan aspects which naturally cannot but be presented in broad terms. It attempts however to include more recent research and theoretical standpoints and thus address particular phenomena and tensions of relevance for the study. The Harappan overview is followed by an insight into the regional area in question, the Indian state of *Gujarat*. As this includes a historic account of Harappan archaeology of this area, it simultaneously serves as a convenient illustration to divergences and points of emphasis existing between traditional Harappan research and today's approaches. One may therefore suggest this incorporation to contribute to the description the dynamic character of ongoing research. A detailed presentation of the site from where the materials originate, *Bagasra*, follows as third part. In front of this rather detailed context, special attention will lastly be given to toy materials, of the Harappan sphere in general as well as from Bagasra in particular.

The working process will start in Chapter 5. Following the specific, simultaneous character of the working model of grounded theory, it takes on an intermixed form where, together with the presentation of results, the working path will be pictured successively so that the reader may follow the development of thoughts and ideas deriving from the material. Due to this, theoretical ideas borrowed for the study and the building up of frameworks do not appear separate but form necessary parts of the working path as a whole. Deepened conceptualisations are, however, for various reasons clustered after the outline of the working process, in Chapter 6. The subdivisions of the working process as well as of the following conceptualisations are, as the reader will see, connected to each other. In turn, these will closely follow the questions presented above, the total way of working being strictly set into a model divided into four steps. The return of the last step or question to the initial issue of the viewpoint of the toy as an insoluble problem simultaneously forms into a comprehensive summary of the work. Chapter 7 opens a door to future research angles on the subject. Some comments on key words and spellings is included in the beginning, listing specific words and expressions and their significance in this thesis. This is recommended to observe in order to avoid frustrating misunderstandings. Most tables and some of the figures (marked App.) appear in an appendix.

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[2] A summary of this thesis was presented at the EASAA (European Association of South Asian Archaeologists) Conference in South Asian Archaeology in London, 4-8 July 2005.

2. Impossible artefacts? Previous and contemporary approaches: presentation of problems and a search for definition

Research on children and toys in general

Traditional standpoints

Starting with a broader look on this field of research before proceeding into the few approaches of archaeology, the extensive research on the subject of children and toys in various disciplines like history, anthropology, sociology, psychology, educational studies etc. is notable. An excellent exposition of approaches of various theoretical schools is given by Lönnqvist (1992), ethnologist at the University of Jyväskylä. In his analysis of the invisible toy versus the visible from the perspective of cultural anthropology, he presents an extensive review from which selected parts will be presented here. It starts with the view of cultural history in which children are seen as incomplete versions of adults. The functionalistic idea of an evolutionistic development of toys from antiquity until today prevails. The ethnographic perspective, on the other hand, is according to Lönnqvist focused on tradition and imitation as the prime characteristics of play. During the 70s and 80s, sociological and social historic research became interested in the child situated in its society. They focused on phenomena such as 'childhood' or 'parent-child relations', which were heavily influenced by the then pioneering ideas of Ariès (Lönnqvist 1992:54ff). By stressing the past as a time where children were not allowed to be children but were only regarded as small adults, forced to work hard, Ariès (1982) outlines an evolutionistic development of the 'child'. This concept and that of 'childhood' appear as products of modern Western culture, not existing before or outside this.[3] This perspective, as Lönnqvist continues, prevails for example in Weber-Kellermanns childhood analysis in which the French revolution is claimed to have been a dividing force which lifted forward the child as a distinct being. Another characteristic approach is the search by Pollock for an either 'present' or 'absent' childhood in different cultures (Lönnqvist 1992:63f). Though Ariès has become heavily criticised for his ideas, they nevertheless, as is stressed by James and James (2004:12f), constituted a platform for the emergence of a research on children. Ariès is claimed above all to have contributed to a questioning of the unproblematic concept of 'childhood' as a biological phase by stressing it as a cultural naming of an early life stage. Though being a universal stage to all children, the interpretation and institutionalisation of it is thus accentuated as dependant on the particular cultural setting and its engagement with children's daily lives. The way a specific culture therefore treats its children in turn necessarily shape children's experiences of being a child as well as their way of response to the adult world.

Proceeding into the educational and psychological perspectives, some of the ideas of one of the most influential child- and toy researchers, Sutton-Smith (1986), appear. In his analysis of the relation of toys and play to culture, play becomes according to Lönnqvist a socialising medium through which the child makes acquaintance with the new. From an educational point of view, the toy thus helps the child to manipulate parts of the adult world. In connection with this, the accentuation by Peller in a psychological study on children's play of the symbolic role of the toy is mentioned. The toy is proposed as a thing in which the child may canalise its feelings towards adults. The psychological perspective has moreover put 'play' into various evolutionistic schemes following the (purely biological) development of the child. The scheme classification by Piaget is pointed to as one of the most trendsetting (Lönnqvist 1992:73ff).

[3] In line with this idea, see also the account by Banér (1994) describing the view of the child through the history of Europe.

The developmental psychology school of thought, as the review continues, has had heavy influence on the contemporary, Western view of the toy in which it is regarded as a thing with which the adult stimulates the development of the child. A majority of researches have therefore focused on the toy situated within an adult pattern of thought. In this connection, Lönnqvist calls attention to two, oppositely situated perspectives towards children and play. These are either directed by the so-called *mirror mechanism* or by the *adventure mechanism*. While the first one emphasizes the playing child as a reflection of the attitudes and way of life of the adult world, the second mechanism relates to the world of children, unknown to and separated from the adult world. As is depicted by the review, the mirror mechanism has been the most frequently used. Reasoning on children and children's things therefore turns into adults' reasoning, underpinned by the idea of the child as incomplete and subordinate to the adult. Accordingly, children have been used in research as 'symptoms', able in their mirror roles to tell of social and biological phenomena of their society. Beside the subjugated role, the child has further been stereotyped as an innocent and pure opposite to the contested and threatening adult world. This goes in line with the mirror mechanism and leads to the glorifying and miniaturizing of the child's separated realm (Lönnqvist 1992:75ff).

The roots of this prevailing, Western view, focused on educational aspects and the child as a stimulus-receiver, can according to Lönnqvist among others be traced back to the philosophical works of the 18th century, particular of Locke but to some degree of Rousseau as well. With the child as a *tabula rasa* – an empty paper soon to become inscribed – Locke transformed the play into a useful instrument directed by adults for educating the child and leading it into sensible thinking. In contrast, the play in the management of children became expelled to children's separated realm as nothing but meaningless (Lönnqvist 1992:357f). In this context, one may however mention the suggestion by Hübner (1992:148) as well of an even older emergence of a negative attitude towards play (although only on an official level). In his analysis on toy materials from ancient Palestine, he proposes such attitude possibly to have emerged during the Hellenic-Roman period as a result of authorities' difficulties in controlling the rapid growth of mass entertainments.

The constitution ascribed to the toy consequently follows a similar outline:

The Western toy

In their analysis of children's toy possessions from a somewhat different point of view, guided by the question of how the world is depicted through the toys, Nelson and Nilsson distinguish their unusual perspective in pointing to the most common toy approaches mainly constituting so called effect-studies which depart from a stimulus-response perspective. Seen as an essential and decisive instrument in the educational process, the toy turns the focal point of a study in which the child is depicted a passive receiver. This results in the seemingly natural division of the toy into either 'good' or 'bad' (Nelson & Nilsson 2002:part1:18ff; for an illustrative example, depicting an ordering of toys according to their suitability in relation to age stages, see Almqvist 1991). The roots of this perspective is similarly traced back to the changed definitions of the concept of the child during the 18th century (Nelson & Nilsson 2002:part 1:168). The review by Lönnqvist stresses that, simultaneously with the formulating of the philosophical doctrines, an interest in the child's material culture developed which resulted in the toy concept similarly becoming characterized by the ideas of Locke and Rousseau. It is argued that until today, this has led to the defining of the toy by socialising aspects and adult responsibility. The 19th century's striving for making the child visible and its proclaim of a distinct child sphere is stressed as a continuation and final formulating of these ideas. As a consequence of the toy industry's emergence, resulting from the industrial development and the growing up of the *bourgeoisie*, the toy finally, beside its educational aspect, also entered the Western culture's market system. With this view follows the opinion among various researchers of the playing child and the toy as phenomena only belonging to the modern, Western culture, not existent outside this realm. (Lönnqvist 1992:355f, 367). "In Antiquity age groups were clearly defined but children were seldom viewed as a group with need of special activities like play. When they were playing

they were supposed to practice their future adult roles, and each plaything was regarded as a tool in their education." (Almqvist 1994:21). In his study on the development of the modern toy, Cross stresses that "/…/clearly a mark of modernity is the historical point when adults turn religious icons and amusements into children's play figures and recognize play as a special right of childhood." (Cross 1997:13). Descriptions of problems and obstacles when attempting a search for toys outside Western culture can be found in various writings. Lönnqvist mentions for example the claim by different researchers of the uncertainty in differentiating the toy from other sorts of material. This is due to its demarcations being usually quite blurred, turning the toy inseparable from other phenomena such as ritualistic ones. Among others, he calls attention to the pointing by Schmidt in her cultural historic approach, following the idea of this school of an evolutionistic development of the toy, to these obstacles when trying to classify toy material of the antiquity. This leads to her conclusion that material solely meant for toy purposes were not in existence by this time (Lönnqvist 1992:57f, 369). Cross (1997:13) claims the difference between ancient and modern toys to be the elusive distinguishing of the first ones from other objects, and proposes that miniatures and doll figurines may have had a primarily ritual purpose, before having been given to children as playthings.

Yet another problem frequently emphasized is the difficulties in separating play from work. This is claimed as a common obstacle when focusing on non-European cultures. A further problem noted by some researchers is that children in cultures poor in material develop the social play rather than a play under the conditions of the thing, and incorporate everything in their surroundings as play properties (Lönnqvist 1992:54f). Toys outside the Western realm are also mentioned as probably manufactured primarily for adults (Almqvist 1994:22).

In the view of these last statements, the toy concept seems as a modern phenomenon, belonging solely to the three last centuries of the Western sphere. Seemingly, then, it appears quite clumsy, not to say impossible, to apply the concept on other societies separated from this by time or space. Is hence the intention to search and try to define prehistoric toys really predestined to fail already in the beginning stage?

Alternative views

At the same time, however, Lönnqvist emphasizes this view to be understood as a result of the toy view that was established during the 19th century. A European adult view in which toy research "/…/has become blinded by the toy as a product manufactured by adults only for children and only for the purpose of being played with." (Lönnqvist 1992:54, 372, *my translation*). The opinion thus mirrors the adult's relation to and view upon children in the Western culture. The toy conforms into the idea of children as incomplete adults where children's own opinions concerning the playthings are neglected (Lönnqvist 1992:54f).[4]

Beside this temporally and spatially demarcated definition, the toy as a phenomenon simultaneously constitutes a fundamental concept of humanity, something 'extremely old' (Lönnqvist 1992:376). Critics against the idea of the toy as nothing but a mirror of culture and a purpose for socialisation is for example found in Huizinga's *Homo Ludens* (the playing human) from the end of the 1930s. Here, the ability of play to create an ordering of things on a higher level, with its own time and space, is emphasized (Huizinga according to Lönnqvist 1992:371f).

[4] And, obviously, where various examples from around the world, pointing both to children's important roles as to toy variants, are not taken into consideration. These 'cases' may perhaps serve as thought-provoking illustrations: The view of Khanty people in Northwest Siberia of their newborns as pure, strong and wiser than all others, in contrast to a *tabula rasa* considered to embody the accumulated knowledge of all Khanty (Balzer 1999:175); the essential reconnaissance missions of Somali children on the nomadic wanderings in the deserts, continually on the watch for dangers and life giving water holes (Kapuściński 2002:209); the dolls given as parental offerings to the daughters of the Inuit people, both as a plaything and a teaching device meant to introduce the girl in the art of sewing (Brownstone 1988:6); the living child goddess Kumari who resides in her own temple in Kathmandu, Nepal (Amin, Willetts & Tetley 1989:82f); the responsibility of male children of the Nenets people of the family's sacred sledge (Kharyuchi & Lipatova 1999:290); the traditional dolls of Nenets children which are made out of bird beaks and clearly distinguished from ritual figurines by their lack of facial features (Yamal-Nenets regional Shemanovsky museum and exhibition complex, Salekhard, July 2004).

The play's qualities of being illogical and fun is claimed to constitute prime elements in human cultural activity (Huizinga according to Hägglund 1989:47). Similarly pointing to play as an immanent essentiality in every human being, Hübner calls among others attention to the suggested points of definition of play outlined by Caillois which are sorted according to the idea of play as a "phenomenon of totality" (Hübner 1992:134, *my translation*). A further argument stresses the exchange process between the reality and the different reality of the play as a prerequisite for social interactions (Fritz 1992).

Is there thus a way to overcome the problem of the toy without being forced to abandon the toy concept?

According to Lönnqvist, Farge objects to the mirror mechanism by claiming it as only telling *about* children, neglecting a consideration on children's own narratives and history writings. While this turns them stiff in a historic perspective, Farge calls on the contrary attention to the specific mobility characterizing children. This makes them capable of living as children and adults at the same time, freely moving between the two worlds (Lönnqvist 1992:79). Continuing thus from the mirror to the adventure mechanism, Lönnqvist mentions that the latter has been used as a critical voice of researchers towards traditional studies on children. In contrast, this mechanism addresses the unknown world of children's own culture. To be able to grasp the objects and their shifting meanings within this alternative perspective, however, a hermeneutic approach is accentuated by more recent research with a shift of focus from the toy (the object), to the handling of it within the play (the action). This puts the sense of play to create meaning in focus whereas the management of the object in the play accordingly becomes deciding for if a specific object should be regarded as a toy or not (Lönnqvist 1992:22ff, 79). Based on the idea of play constituting a subject, Hangaard Rasmussen (2002:53) calls attention to the view outlined by Gadamer of the toy as an object not isolated in its own world but rather linked to genres or 'texts' into an intertextuality. In this context, the phenomenological perspective by Heidegger in which play and toy are connected through the work of the hand is further stressed. While interaction, *Umgang*, with the world is characteristic for the human, that which is existent turns identical with that what is available, *Zuhanden*. When the hand is directed towards this, it turns into a work- or play hand. Inversely, that what is available turns into its existence thanks to the hand. With the intentionality of the hand, play and toy thus meet and interact within a virtual field of possibilities (Hangaard Rasmussen 2002:25ff).

With the focus on action, Lönnqvist further emphasizes the principle of *transformation*, described as part of the core of play and playthings. He also calls attention to *abstraction*, which play constitutes a specific form of and which the principle of transformation characterizes (Lönnqvist 1992:29, 375ff). In connection with Heidegger's *Umgang,* Lönnqvist refers to the emphasis by Buytendijk, in a similar manner to Farges, of the specific mobility when one approaches the world of children and toys. This is accentuated to lead to the idea of an ongoing circular process between movement and touch, in which the toy as a symbol and sign becomes central (Buytendijk according to Lönnqvist 1992:80f).

The shift of focus, Lönnqvist continues, allows for an official separating of the plaything and the toy. The first constitutes part of children's own cultural arrangements where all kinds of objects may be included. That is, also such items which from an adult's point of view is not to be classified as toys, such as a spoon or a pot. The plaything is characterized by added meanings which are formed and modulated in cause of the play. It may moreover serve as an indicator for a more innovative, allowing culture. The latter, on the other hand, turns into a cultural artefact, an object that is given by the adult to the child. Accordingly, the toy may be more emphasized within a more conservative culture, although these (theoretical) opposites in reality exist side by side in all cultures. However, as is concluded by Lönnqvist, since all kinds of objects, be it playthings or toys, continually form, transform and receive added meanings in course of the play, the focus on action, transformation and the specific form of abstraction results in *the disappearance of the division, because this is not existing in the world of children. And then, demarcations in time and space also disappear* (Lönnqvist 1992:29, 81f, 376, *my italics*).

Thus arrived at the 'extremely old', Lönnqvist's own definition of the toy, outlined in accordance with his standpoints, states that:

> [the toy is] an element in children's creative activity on the whole. This is irrespective of type, material, production and historical time of use. The function, the situation of use and, in particular, the signifying dimension, 'what the object represents' in a given situation, constitute the field which the aspect applies to. (Lönnqvist 1992:55, *my translation*).

On top of the new standpoints, this definition, which is emphasized by Lönnqvist as a wide but also a vague definition (Lönnqvist 1992:79), is hence adopted for this study as it liberates the temporally and spatially bounded toy, turning it reachable for non-Western contexts too, and thus opens up for a possibility to proceed. With this definition, the idea of adults deliberately producing toys for children beside children producing for themselves should not seem too unlikely. Or, it should at least be possible to put this particular question off that much, that a proceeding without abandoning the toy concept turns within reach.

Research on children and toys in archaeology

In general, approaches on children and toys in archaeology follow the developments outlined above. A large number of ancient toys, particularly of miniature size, appears in various (traditional) accounts being commonly of rather 'catalogic' character: "Toy animals have always played an important part in the world of children/…/." (White 1971:46). The article *A Child is Born. The Child's World in an Archaeological Perspective* by Lillehammer (1989), one of the most influential researchers concerning children in archaeology, is considered a kind of milestone for archaeological approaches on children, a still relatively small field of research where deepened analyses are claimed as few and far between (e.g. Finlay 1997). Another scholar who has contributed profoundly to the subject is Sofaer Derevenski, who has listed two reasons why there is reluctance in the archaeological society to form a specific archaeology of children. On one hand, she states that this is due to the fact that child burials are underrepresented in the archaeological record. The lack of a body to depart from has automatically hindered the development of theoretical frames (see also Moore 1997:255). On the other, the concepts of 'child' and 'childhood' are claimed as essential obstructions since these are embedded in Western assumptions of production and solely belong to the sphere of adults while marginalizing children (Sofaer Derevenski 1997:193). Another cause to the invisibility is claimed by Baker (1997:74f) to be the traditional definition of children as non-male. With this, she claims, they automatically disappear into a female definition according to the traditional male-female dichotomy, which is followed by a marginalizing on the same premises as that of women, expelled to the non-public, the domestic, the consuming- rather than producing part and so on.

The emergence of a focus on children can, according to Lillehammer (2000:17), be traced back to trends within feminist perspectives. The Western relegation of the child to a mother-sphere has however turned it to a passive appendage to women while, she claims, the very relation of children to women has hardly been considered at all. The roots in feminist ideas have further resulted in the association of children to gender archaeology (Lillehammer 2000:18).

As a consequence, many of the existing studies on children and toys are to be found within this field. One example is the edited account by Moore and Scott (1997) in which they propose that studies on children would gain from a gender approach. Scott (1997:6f) claims for instance that a gender approach, similar to its recognition of female agency, turns the passive child into an agent since different genders can be grasped as processes, in whose creating children highly partake. She admits that children do signal cultural norms, but they also struggle against them. In the claim by Baker (1997:183f) of a male-female division still to be prevalent in

gender archaeology, a concept of gender comprehended as multiple possibilities is emphasized. This perspective, she suggests, would turn into existence the 'missing' people of traditional archaeology, such as children or elderly. Sofaer Derevenski (1997:194) further stresses that a focus on gender development in children would avoid the obstacles of the problematic 'childhood' as well as the idea of children as being passively moulded.

A number of contributions of the account seem at the same time to advertise the opposite proposal, suggesting gender studies to gain from a focus on children. Though claiming a children's focus, some contributions tend to explain (gender) aspects of a specific society through the way it seems to treat its children. One illustrative example may be the analysis by Rega (1997) of an Early Bronze Age cemetery with its focus on age- and gender divisions.

Scott's (1999) work on infants in the archaeological record may also be mentioned. While discussing the evidences for infancy, she argues for an understanding of the power of the infant while objecting to the established idea of it as of low value and a frequent victim of infanticide practices. In yet another account, mentioned in the beginning, the editor Sofaer Derevenski (2000b) highlights a focus on children through material culture, addressing theoretical and practical implications of it. By critically comparing the contemporary child with that of the past, she concludes the former in both social science and social work to be recognized in its own right, as subject, in contrast to the latter, passively stated child in archaeology. This child appears as a biologically defined, universal category determined solely by age divisions which lacks identity, agency and action. Due to the purely developmental perspective, it is relegated while the adult is prioritized as complete. She further emphasizes the particular circumstance that archaeological research on children and children's material culture mainly derive from burial studies (Sofaer Derevenski 2000a:5ff; for typical examples, see Ruprechtsberger 1996; Siemoneit 1997). Since this child of the past is further being formed by the discourse of Western thinking, she argues for the necessary awareness of this discourse and the analysis of its extent. "Is there more than one way of being a child and more than one childhood/…/?" she asks critically (Sofaer Derevenski 2000a:5f, 12). She stresses the importance to fracture the study and separate the automatically linking of 'child' to 'childhood', claiming the latter as a Western concept that is equalled with a dependency on adults and results in the idea of the passive child (Sofaer Derevenski 2000a:11).

In this context, Sofaer Derevenski also questions why material culture of children only becomes interpreted by reference to adults, which leads to the traditional interpretation of miniature items as toys. As has already been mentioned in the introduction, this assumption is according to her based on the Western ideas of the child as incapable of anything but playing and the only one, due to its size, able to interact with small objects. This is accentuated by her to lead to a low value of the object, the 'toy' solely referring to a morphological description without reference to any social significance. One may further recall the stressing by Sofaer Derevenski of the complexity in functional identifications of purpose-built toys. Due to the non-existence of a universal 'childhood' as separated from 'adulthood', she concludes it equally impossible to fundamentally divorce children's artefacts from the ones of adults (Sofaer Derevenski 2000a:6ff).

As was briefly mentioned in the introduction, Sofaer Derevenski emphasizes the newly developed focus on materials associated with issues of knowledge transmission. These are stressed as key issues in archaeological studies for which the study on children has great potential (Sofaer Derevenski 2000b). Such approaches can be exemplified with a study on children in lithic analysis (Finlay 1997:203ff), as well as by an attempt to search for children in Upper Paleolithic flintknapping (Grimm 2000:53ff). While objecting to the idea of the dependant child and the presence of toy-identified material in the form of miniatures, Finlay argues for a focus on the child as a partaking producer. By searching for traces of apprenticeship, preferred by her to be called an 'acquisition of skills' while avoiding the idea of passive learning, she suggests this kind of focus to become reachable. Referring to her own research for apprentices' knapping, she proposes these to become traceable by the capability, according to the concept of *chaîne opératoire*, to order the traces and differentiate stages among

them. Lithic material turns especially suitable since the raw material is not re-used, in contrast to pottery for example, and the products of the learning sequence thus become preserved. Furthermore, she argues for applying the social practice theory of 'legitimate peripheral learning' (LPP) outlined by Lave and Wenger, since this points to an increased participation in a specific community of practice rather than on learning of skills (Finlay 1997:203ff). Grimm, who suggests the LPP concept too, refers to the claim of various scholars of a social theory as essential for the *chaîne opératoire* since the sociological implications carried by the spatial patterns thus become examined. Practice theory with its focus on micro-processes of daily life is suggested as a suitable point of departure. In any issues on knowledge transmission, it should be necessary to include a theory on social practice to avoid otherwise simplified interpretations from a Western 'learning' perspective (Grimm 2000:62ff).

To reach the active child and overcome the obstacles of traditional approaches, Sofaer Derevenski (2000a:10ff) argues for a focus on the relationship between body and material culture, without the preference of one before the other. In this context, she borrows the distinction by Place of the 'child data' (i.e. the body) and the 'data child' (that is, the manifestation of the body through its connection to surrounding technological artefacts; slightly modulated to suit archaeological purposes, it is proposed as a material manifestation of the interaction between child and society). It is necessary to recognize the two concepts as interwoven; separately studied, both body and materials turn empty of meaning. While different, culturally constructed children are associated with different sets of material culture, the connecting of the body to artefacts might help to distinguish individual identities as well as situate the artefacts into their contexts. Guided by questions as to what it meant to be a child, what a material culture of a child might have constituted and the like, she states that an insight into the social life of children should focus on children as children. Then, children as active agents would come forward.

Similarly objecting to the passively constructed 'childhood' concept, Lillehammer (2000:20ff) criticises the untenable idea of age determinism and the solemn use of age-based indicators and argues for a theory and method especially developed for a specific archaeology of children. As an alternative choice to 'childhood', she proposes the 'world of children'. This concept, she argues, calls attention to the relationships of, on one hand, the various, culturally invented spheres in which children move, and on the other the relation between being a child in mind and in action. With this specific spatial dimension included, she concludes the concept more fruitful for research as it directs the study towards time and space in relation to the worlds of adults and children and emphasizes the fluidity and complexity between the latter.

Among the different approaches towards children in archaeology, some interesting perspectives appear which turn common thoughts upside down. In a search by Strassburg (1995) for Mesolithic children, middens are for instance discussed from the perspective of children. Using the anthropological concept of a 'trial-and-error' – method of play for small-scale societies, small arrow-heads found within a number of them, traditionally associated with adult males, are suggested as the result of children's shooting practices while traces of hearths turn into remains of 'playing hearth' and so on. Admitting the speculative character of his proposal, he strives with his alternative focus to accentuate the danger in taking things for granted. Another example connects the Neanderthal stone tool production to the educational stages of children by Piaget. In this way, Hawcroft and Dennell (2000) manage to avoid the common interpretation of the conservative character of this production, compared with the production of the Homo Sapiens, that usually highlights the undeveloped language of the Neanderthals as the prime reason. Instead, they put forward a shorter time span for Neanderthals as the cause, in turn leading to Neanderthal children never reaching the developmental stages needed for innovative thinking. In a further approach on children using a microarchaeological perspective, the concept of series by Sartre is borrowed to part the problematic and homogenous entity of 'children' into more useful subcategories with an emphasis on social age, including both corporeal and mental as well as social properties of children at different stages (Fahlander 2005).

The fail in a majority of child approaches to focus on children in their own right is criticized by Sofaer Derevenski (2000a:8). Rather, she claims, children are used for gaining an understanding of aspects of the adult society. Roveland (2000:35) similarly objects to the focusing by a majority of analyses on socialisation aspects and the process of becoming adults. A survey of studies that aspire to produce new perspectives indeed surprises by nevertheless revealing strikingly traditional conclusions, more or less in line with the mirror perspective.[5] The study by Hawcroft and Dennell mentioned above may thus appear quite traditional as well since they use the children's perspective for a comparison of two adult societies. Concerning characteristic toy perspectives of today, an illustrative example is tentatively constituted by Crawford's (2000:170ff) objection to the view of the Anglo-Saxon miniature grave goods as toys (mentioned earlier), in which the universality of the idea of adults producing purpose-built toys meant for children is questioned.

Due to the intention of this study to focus on the toy concept, it may be suitable before completing the review to mention the account by Wilkie (2000:100ff). Although her analysis is of a totally different nature while it covers a very recent time period, in which the artefacts of study without doubt can be classified as Western constituted toys, the significant rarity of studies specifically addressing the matter of toys nevertheless turns her account of relevance. In her analysis of toys from 19th and 20th Century North America, she criticizes the simplified view on toys in historical archaeology, in which they are only regarded as by-products of parent's attempts and not as statements and intentions of children. Opposite to these opinions, she calls attention to the active pursuing of the child itself of its material culture by such actions as pleading, bartering, theft and others, by re-designing it, ignoring or destroying it and so on, connecting the matter thus closely to that of status. Interpreting a case of deliberately broken dolls as a reaction to a change in status caused by the arrival of a newborn sister to the owner of the toys, she calls for example attention to the toy as a mean of social dialog besides its being a plaything. It thus becomes of utmost essentiality, she concludes, to regard these artefacts as more than playthings.

With a focus on children as children and the plead for a different material approach with proposals for a social theory perspective, together with a deepened insight into the concept of the world of children, one may suggest a fruitful way to open up towards the children of the past. However, though these newly developed thoughts conform to recent reflections on the concept of children, they do not, as the reader may have noticed, include the newly developed toy perspectives (with Wilkie's account as a bit of an exception, although the interpretation of the broken dolls at the same time can be claimed a bit 'narrow' since it solely relates the action in question to the child's relation to the adult world). In archaeology, then, the toy yet seems deemed a too big of an obstacle to approach.

In light of the toy definition presented above, I would nevertheless insist upon the continuation of my initial idea. Adding the recent archaeological outlines concerning studies on children, this definition does seem to form a viable foundation for the study to depart from.

Research on children and toys within the Harappan realm

Various artefacts such as diverse figurines, miniature carts and others, mostly in terracotta, are frequently found to be briefly mentioned as toys in traditional Harappan accounts. The female terracotta figurines were for example sorted by Marshall (according to Possehl 2003:141) as either toys, objects of sympathetic magic or mother goddesses, while Mackay (according to

[5] For burial approaches concerned with societies' views on the child, departing from a more or less universal supposition of societies to regard the child as an incomplete adult, see Houby-Nielsen 2000; Janik 2000; Mizoguchi 2000; for an account focused on the obstacles of osteological age definitions versus the cultural constructed childhood, see Johnsen & Welinder 1995, among others the contributions by Andersson, Welinder & Westeson 1995; Kanvall 1995.

Ardeleanu-Jansen 1991:174) considered 'moveable' terracotta animals as toys and Wheeler (1966:44ff) concluded most of the terracotta objects, except perhaps some of the female- and bull figurines, to be toys.

Toy artefacts also appear in more recent research, such as terracotta toy carts (e.g. Kenoyer 2000:89; Ratnagar 2001:56, Sharma 2003:47), some female figurines (e.g. Possehl 2002:141), or types of animal figurines (e.g. Kenoyer 2000:132, Possehl 2002:124). 'New' toy identifications are also to be found (e.g. toy interpreted pottery discs, Kenoyer 2000:132).

The artefacts identified as toys, in earlier as in recent research, display what may be called toy interpretation characteristics or toy 'criteria' (already indicated above as the reader may have noticed). The toy carts can thus be suggested to follow the miniature criteria. Morphological qualities may further direct the identification. In her recent account on the terracotta figurines from Mohenjo Daro, Ardeleanu-Jansen (2002:212) mentions that, especially if displaying a crude appearance (and except for those female figurines that have been related to fertility cults), figurines have by traditional research mostly received a toy classification. Functional aspects are highlighted too, among others illustrated by so-called animals on wheels. Type of finding context may also decide. While animals on wheels in, for example, regions in the Middle East have received ritualistic identifications since they among other things have been found adjacent to temples (Ardeleanu-Jansen 1993:183f), toy classified Harappan objects seem rather derived from living areas (as for example tops and marbles; Kenoyer 2000:133). Since objects in other materials than terracotta are usually not receiving a toy label, it may be proposed that abundance as well as more 'simple' material (i.e. terracotta) directs the identification too. In other words, objects tend to be toy interpreted when being quite common, when not being particularly elaborately styled as well as when found scattered all around the settlement (pers. comm., Shinde 2004).

Besides a morphological noting, the objects seem generally not to be given any deepened analysis. Rather, one can suggest some of them to serve as messengers of specific information. A few words from the text board next to the show case of animal figurines at the Lothal site museum may be illustrative: "/…/[they] were used as toys/…/.However, they also reflect the fauna/…/." (Lothal Site Museum, April 2004; similar information appears e.g. in Ardeleanu-Jansen 1991:174). Stopping short at their morphological appearance, the toy animals thus act as faunal evidence and indicators of natural environment. The toy carts (though sometimes lacking the toy label while rather mentioned as model- or mini-sized carts) are used to repeatedly inform, being similar in shape to full-sized carts in use by Indian and Pakistani farmers today, of the supposed presence of similar, full-sized carts during Harappan time (e.g. Kenoyer 2000:89; 2004; McIntosh 2002:45, 200; Ratnagar 2001:56).

The thoroughly done study of Ardeleanu-Jansen (1993) of the terracottas of Mohenjo Daro constitutes one of the more comprehensive insights related to this subject. In her analysis, unproblematic toy identifications are put under critical consideration while forming part of a discussion that situates the material within a broader social, cultural as well as geographical framework. Concerning the toy type 'animals on wheels', she mentions for instance the objection by Mode to the common interpretation of cart models as toys. Rather, he claims them to belong to a ritual-magical sphere (Mode according to Ardeleanu-Jansen 1993:182). In this context, comparisons are undertaken with various cart models found in contemporary locations in among others Mesopotamia and the Middle East, noting their different interpretation suggestions (Ardeleanu-Jansen 1993:183). As for the thought of figurines as toys, taking another example, Ardeleanu-Jansen (2002:213) emphasizes some circumstances that seem to reject this. Among others, she refers to Mode again and his statement that the considerable amount of figurines found on Harappan sites objects to the idea of them as toys, since in that case children would have played an unlikely major role in Harappan life. She also calls attention to the standpoint of Gordon and Gordon to the equally unthinkable thought that adults should have bothered to fire figures that were modelled by children as toys.

Although a bit simplified, it may perhaps be summoned that in earlier research, a number of diverse terracotta material were identified as toys and yet simultaneously deemed not

worth further considerations, and a few types, such as some of the female figurines, were suggested as possibly related to fertility cults. More recent research has in contrast brought into light more parts of this material, broken its anonymous homogeneity by sorting it up but, at the same time, questioned a number of toy suggestions while different qualities have been claimed as rather related to other, like ritualistic, spheres. In her account on terracotta figurines in pre-Harappan up to Harappan levels, Jarrige (1991:92) proposes for example that the female figurines in the Harappa period levels at the site Nausharo, known in Mohenjo Daro and Harappa as the 'grotesque figurines', may have been used for magical practices. Due to their broken state, she suggests them to have been smashed after use. This practice, she argues, would explain their fragile nature. Concerning the traditionally toy interpreted male figurines, they have similarly in more recent time been suggested as constituting parts in fertility cults (Kenoyer 2000:111).

Widening the view on toys specifically and looking upon child approaches in general, an interesting incorporation of children and toys into the picture of daily life during Harappan time is given by Kenoyer (2000). A suggested way of life for children, including their toys and games, is to be found next to similar considerations of the life of women and men.

Explicitly gender focused studies within the Harappan realm are so far quite few (e.g. Atre 1998; gender perspectives are also included in Kenoyer 2000; Possehl 2002), but nevertheless worth noting due to the closeness of gender studies to the sphere of children stated above. In a study on the development and technology of pottery production through pre-Harappan and Harappan times, with a focus on such phenomena as labour division and spatial arrangements, Wright (1991) presents an engendered picture of production in which both women and men form essential partakers. More recently, Clark (2003) has been dealing with conceptions of sexual difference by analysing body representations of anthropomorphic terracotta figurines from the site at Harappa.

Thus having explored the ground of the main area of analysis and outlined suitable definitions, the study may be suggested ready to continue…

3. Choice of toys and way of working

Materials, methodological parts, limitations and credibility

Methodological parts

The working process of the thesis can be roughly divided into three main parts. A search for relevant literature in among others the Swedish library catalogue *Libris* marks the begin of the first part. Due to the scarce results when searching through attempts on the subject in archaeological research, relevant literature from other disciplines is included in order to gain essential information. Literature on the theme of children's archaeology is also searched for. Relevant literature on the Harappa culture with a particular focus on its toy material is additionally studied.

The second and largest part of the working process starts with a five weeks journey to India (April – May 2004) and a visit to, respectively, the Department of Archaeology at the Deccan College in Pune, Maharashtra and the Department of Archaeology and Ancient History at the Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, Gujarat, to collect relevant archaeological material. Extensive Harappan research is undertaken at these departments and they were therefore suggested to me by the Head of the Harappa Archaeological Research Project, Prof J. Mark Kenoyer at the University of Wisconsin, Madison.

The material of study originates from today's Gujarat, one of the Indian states yielding an amount of Harappan remains and an area of many years of excavation of both the Deccan College and the Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda. The materials put at my disposal at the Deccan College originate from the sites of Padri and Kuntasi while the materials of the Maharaja Sayajirao University belong to the sites of Bagasra and Nagwada. The search is primarily focused on artefact types traditionally given the designation 'toy' or 'maybe toy'. My collecting methods constitute both photographing (with slide film) and recording of comprehensive descriptions of relevant artefacts. Due to my ignorance before going to India as to what kinds of materials I would encounter, I strive throughout the recording to keep an open-minded attitude and to gather as much information as my limited time period allows me. With the aim of grounded theory of primarily letting the material speak, the period appears as a far too early stage for any decisive resolutions as to what material the study will focus on more particularly. Approximately 370 artefacts are recorded and photographed. Questions are also put to various researchers. Back in Sweden, photographs and descriptions are put in order and the information compiled into comprehensive tables. Based on these, a thorough analysis of the material is undertaken, following the working steps of grounded theory with a focus on various variables (i.e. properties of the material).

Although it is separately mentioned here, the third part of the thesis occurs parallel to the second. This is constituted by successive conceptualisations of the results of the analysis. Following the statements of grounded theory, it takes the form of an intermixed and inseparable part of the working process. Relevant theoretical literature is therefore studied simultaneously as the relatively time consuming analysis of the properties of the archaeological material is undertaken.

Selected materials, limitations and credibility

Due to time- and space limitations and the emergence of what will be the final form of the study successive exclusions are made in course of the analysis. It is soon decided that the study will only take into consideration materials from one single site (for the sake of convenience, the working process outlined in the forthcoming therefore departs from a focus exclusively directed towards this material assemblage). This is chosen in order to limit the scope and focus on details rather than pursue a wider (and thus risk a too loose) frame of work. The choice falls upon the material belonging to the site at Bagasra, for three reasons: firstly, because this site

yields a relatively high number of toy materials; secondly, because it consists of Classical Harappan phases with typical Harappan features; thirdly, because of the topicality of the site since it is still in the focal point for excavation (in the time of analysing) as well as for various ongoing research works. The ambition to deepen the analysis as much as possible further leads to the exclusion of a number of recorded toy types from Bagasra. Exclusion depends among others on lack of amount, as is for instance the case with the animal figurines. The thesis soon focuses solely on two types of objects, that is, on fragments of terracotta toy cart frames as well as on pottery discs without perforation (a 'toy description' of these objects is given in Chapter 4; the reasons for keeping to these particular types is further outlined in Chapter 5).

The objects may briefly be presented as follows:

41 cart frame fragments have been selected for analysis. Of these, 26 are of a so-called solid type while 15 show a perforated form. 'Solid' refers to a frame that is of compact or closed, rectangular shape. As the name indicates, 'perforated', also called 'hollow' or 'pierced' designates a similar frame but with holes (cf. Kenoyer 2000:89; Sonawane *et al.* 2003:46). In his discussion of the traditionally neglected significance of the (full-sized) cart during Harappan time, including a comprehensive analysis of cart frame fragments from mini-sized carts belonging to the site at Harappa, Kenoyer (2004) emphasizes their marked variety and suggests a classification of the carts belonging to the middle (here mentioned as Classical) Harappan period into eight different main types. The cart frame fragments from Bagasra could perhaps, with a few exceptions (and very tentatively!) be proposed to fit into two of these types, the so-called 'flat cart with closed frame' and possibly the 'cart with open frame and right-angled plan drawing', the former described as the most simple type and the latter as the most common at Harappa, and both mentioned to appear at various Harappan sites (Kenoyer 2004:100f, *my translation of type labels*). This study has however chosen to keep to the division of solid and perforated as it is suitable for this particular assemblage. Only one example, of solid type, is complete. The items of the solid type describe in a more or less fragmented state the rectangular shape of this type. They exhibit larger and smaller holes, the former probably for inserting vertical struts and shafts. The perforated fragments indicate the rectangular shape of this type. These similarly exhibit holes for struts but are generally thicker than the solids. An amount of both solid and perforated items produce a slightly upward curvature that is to be seen on a number of Harappan cart frames in general. Due to this feature, together with often quite rough or broken undersides (the solid type) or more smooth and/or more flat upper sides (the perforated type), it is possible to distinguish upper– from underside. Both the solid and the perforated type show up in a variety of sizes and constitutions, with or without traces of slip and painting and, in general, in a quite 'worn' constitution (Figures 1 and 2; compare with Figures 3 and 4).

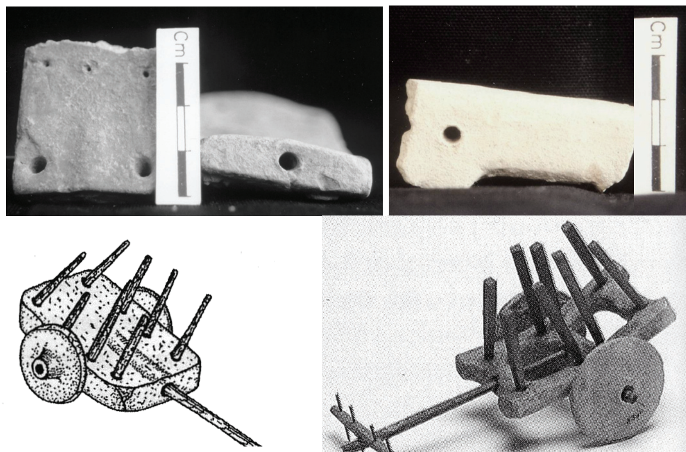


Figure 1. Left: example of the solid cart frame type from the assemblage of analysis. Right: example of shaft hole of the solid type.
Figure 2. Example of the perforated cart frame type from the assemblage of analysis.
Figure 3. Example of reconstructed cart model of a solid type (after Kenoyer 2004:Figure 6.4).
Figure 4. Example of reconstructed cart model of a perforated type (after Ratnagar 2001:56).



Figure 5. Examples of discs from the assemblage of analysis.

60 pottery discs without perforation (hereafter, only the term discs will be used) are recorded. Similar to the discs found at other Harappan sites, they are grounded out of potsherds and prescribe to a more or less circular shape, a majority with a slightly vaulted shape. Most items exhibit traces of slip once given to the pot on the convex side. The other side sometimes has the typical surface of the inside of a pot. Due to this, the convex side will hereafter be regarded as the upper side. As the cart frames, the discs show up in different sizes and constitutions, similarly displaying a 'worn' appearance. Due to their differences in shapes and states of smoothness, they have sometimes, during the excavation recording, been suggested as possibly still in an unfinished state (Artefact book of Bagasra excavations 1996-2004) (Figure 5).

The objects, in particular the cart frames, constitute almost all examples of these types derived from the field season of 1996 up to and including the excavation of 2004. However, neither the group of cart frames nor the collection of discs form the complete amount of these types found at the site during these seasons. Naturally, only those which were placed at the author's disposal can be included. Some items classified as 'possibly cart frame' and/or displaying doubtful cart frame-shapes have been excluded. Fragmented examples of discs have not been considered due to not knowing whether these may have been perforated or not. The cart frames have been offered slightly more space than the discs. This depends among others on the interpretation suggestions of the discs, setting these into a particularly difficult research area.

Due to different constitutions of the two material types, the variables chosen for the discs differ slightly from those selected for the cart frames. The variables are selected on the basis of such factors as abundance, distinctiveness or quality. While putting the analysis together, some of the investigated variables are excluded. The exclusion is based on lack of valuable information which could contribute with something new.

Since the thesis, among others by use of a specific 'aspect's perspective' that will be described later, departs from a social perspective, social as well as symbolic properties of the toys rather than functional will be in focus. However, since such division hardly exists in reality where functional and social features are highly intermixed, it would be wrong as well as impossible to disregard the former completely. The reader will therefore come across 'functional matters' too.

Because of the impossibility to afford a photograph on every single item, two or more objects are mostly displayed together. Due to the successive exclusions, some photographs may display objects that are not included in the study. Furthermore, depictions of painted patterns, hole size relations and others are not always as clear as desirable.

The limited time to collect the material as well as the impossibility to decide while in India what the study would finally focus on may perhaps be pointed to as having certain negative effects on the study. The risk of having let possible errors sneak into the preliminary analysis naturally turns more significant when having to work under that particular time pressure this stay resulted in.

No concern has been taken to chronological difference, which is an uncertainty. This depends partly on the fact that the period in question 'only' comprises about 600 years, a relatively short time span archaeologically speaking, partly on the far too small amount of artefacts that would turn up in each time period which would turn any analysis meaningless.

This kind of temporal questions are furthermore, however, not within the frame of this thesis since its aim and themes are not directed towards a search for specific phase 'markings' but rather on the social qualities of the objects. This particular circumstance is therefore proposed as not being too serious for the study in question.

The method of grounded theory

Why is the theory suitable?

Grounded theory can be described as a generating of theory based on empirical ground, aimed at grounding theory in empirical data as well as creating new theories (Guvå & Hylander 2003:5). Inspired by American pragmatism and symbolic interactionism, it was founded by Glaser and Strauss (1967) as a reaction against positivism. According to Guvå and Hylander (2003:6ff, 26ff), the science philosophy of American pragmatism criticises the idea of looking upon the world from 'outside'. The theory points in contrast at human experience as the source of knowledge, created by human action and aimed at solving practical problems. Based on a social constructionist view, symbolic interactionism focuses on the thoughts and ideas, 'symbols', which develop out of human actions as a result of the individual's own reflections in social interaction. According to the theory, these constitute the common picture of reality shared by a group of humans. Thus, by looking at her symbols, an understanding of human's behaviour can be gained.

In their continuing development of grounded theory, Glaser and Strauss came to define its concepts in different ways. Today, an amount of variations of the theory exists, ranging from positivism and post-positivism to constructionist views and even post-modern feminism (Guvå & Hylander 2003:7ff, 30ff). In this thesis, the definition outlined by (and simultaneously visualized through their own studies in psychology) Guvå and Hylander (2003) is used. Based both on Glaser and Strauss, their later works as well as on other advocates of the theory, they conclude the theory to be a working method of various strategies of data collection and analysis woven together into a circular play of reciprocal action. Inspired by symbolic interactionism, the research is accentuated to start from an actor's perspective with a focus on interactive events and social actions, making the theory especially useful for studies in human interactions. Due to the aim of grounded theory to discover something new that will contribute to an understanding of a social process, the theory is supposed adequate when the researcher is about to enter still unexplored areas or to analyse known phenomena from new perspectives. The theory is further concluded of use when not individuals but events of a more general character are to be analysed and a perspective of totality is strived for that will keep the events in their context. The actor's perspective, as Guvå and Hylander continue, turns the researcher in an exploring position, constantly analysing the own attitude to the material. Knowledge is thus created in the interaction process between the researcher and the actor as well as between the researcher and his/her own text. In this, symbols of meaning take shape which will become the concepts upon which the emerging grounded theory, not built by simple causal relations but by a pattern of cooperating processes, will rest. Though only considered merely as 'tools', changeable in shape, the concepts therefore turn essential. They are created throughout the process to lay the way of the social event(s) to become understandable (Guvå & Hylander 2003:11ff, 29ff).

Grounded theory thus suits this study since the search for toys in more problem-oriented archaeology appears to be a still quite unexplored route, or at least not explored without a preconception of these artefacts as constituting a blind alley. Entering such a new area, it should further be of essentiality to let the material speak, keeping oneself in a listener's position and await what is to come in that 'mood of humbleness' the actor's perspective seems to admit. Due to the objections to the use of the toy concept, one may also consider the strict outlines of grounded theory suitable. While keeping the study within distinctly scientific frames, the risk of turning the entry of such problematic field too 'fuzzy' may be avoided. The focus on

social interaction, lastly, fits my attempt of searching the toys woven into a socially situated context.

The working process

The working process or theoretical sampling of grounded theory is not linear in shape but simultaneous due to the theory's emphasis on empiric grounding as well as on the thought of theory as a process. It consists of a joint collection of data, coding and analysing with continuing decisions as to what data to collect next and guided by an idea of how to further shape the emerging theory (Glaser & Strauss 1967:43ff). According to Guvå and Hylander (2003:13f), the process is inductive since the area of research is new, but deductive while emerging assumptions are tested against the empirics. When attempting to understand a phenomena discovered by inductive exploring with a theoretical assumption, later to be deductively tested, the researcher makes a 'leap in mind', an abduction, with which the inductive and deductive attempts become united.

The researcher uses different entities simultaneously during the working process. Following Guvå and Hylander (2003:34ff), they may be presented like this:

The collection of data begins very openly. As soon as possible, however, a main concern is searched for that turns further selection more strategic. What is looked upon are not variables of age or sex, but aspects of social phenomena following the ambition to understand not individuals but general social interactions. Thereafter follows the naming or ordering, coding, of various incidents of social processes which have been found in the variables chosen. Indicators which are descriptive in form are thus picked out and sorted into categories. Again, this starts very open-minded but turns more conceptual later on. With continual comparisons of the codings, the sorting is tested against each other and ideas of how to relate different categories and concepts emerge. In turn, the relations become coded too. Soon, the main categories upon which the main concern is based take shape. These will later produce the concepts of more abstract qualities that will constitute the structure of the new theory. The conceptualisation describes the continuing creation of concepts by bringing the codings to increasingly abstract levels via ongoing comparisons and abductions.

Also requiring an explanation is the theoretical saturation, which determines when to stop sampling. That is when the collection of data for placing into continually emerging indicators and categories comes to an end, since the specific indicator or category suddenly becomes filled up. The reaching of this, however, is to be determined only by the researcher (Glaser & Strauss 1967:61). Further specific expressions connected to the theory exist but since these are not taken into account in this study, they will not be mentioned here.

Though these four parts of the process are to be made simultaneously according to grounded theory, the working process may as well be described along linear steps, in which each part contributes in each step. The number of steps differs between the advocates of the theory. Guvå and Hylander (2003:46ff, 75ff) refer to a model of four steps which can be briefly described as follows:

Step one, naming of indicators, constitutes of open-minded data selections guided by a notion of where the events may be found. Coded indicators are grouped into categories and compared; not out of, for example, colour or form, but out of ideas of what they may represent. They are given quite basic labels. Due to the focus of social interaction processes, these may preferably constitute verbs or verbal substantives.

Step two, formulating concepts, consists of a more strategic data collection whereas the previous are reused in a new way. More properties of categories are received through various indicators, coded into dynamic names and turned into both substantive (consisting of the very substance of the emerging theory) and theoretical (later used for the linking of them to each other) concepts. In comparing them as well as the variations within and between them, these will define important aspects of the main area of research. Now, the events are discovered and receive meaning.

Step three, searching for pattern, is collecting data for a better grounding of internal variations of the concepts and their interrelationships to reach a larger spread. With the theoretical concepts previously established, they become connected to each other, their relations compared and their mutual variations tested. The goal of this analysis of pattern is to reach an understanding of connections between essential aspects of the research area such as interactions of events.

Step four, generating theory, is a hunt for the core to be grounded. The data is very selectively collected for testing assumptions of relations and putting them into the theory. The equally selective codings follow the core, describing it both in common and conceptual terms. The comparison now embraces the whole, knitting the main categories to the core. Modelled to a theoretical structure, the core thus outlines an understandable and explanatory picture of the discoveries made under way.

According to Glaser and Strauss (1967:40), the core, constituting the emerging theory, appears crystallizing in the very beginning of the process, and becomes a guide to the continuing collection and analysing. Guvå and Hylander (2003:39ff) mention the concept of reciprocal action as a preferable structure of thinking in the working process, since they claim the core as constituted by processes of interaction described through concepts consisting of opposites. As mentioned above, they also embrace the importance of grounded theory to produce a new theory in the end, whereas Glaser and Strauss tell of a theory that will "/…/tend to combine mostly concepts and hypotheses that have emerged from the data with some existing ones that are clearly useful." (Glaser & Strauss 1967:46). One important feature in the process is the necessity of the researcher to be capable of theoretical sensitivity, so that the sorting and coding will not remain on a descriptive level but become conceptualised and allow a formulation of theory. This sensitivity will disappear if the researcher only keeps to one single theory, loosing the capability of "seeing around" the own theory of favour (Glaser & Strauss 1967:46).

The constitution of grounded theory's emerging new theories is one aspect of the theory that has become criticised. The fact that these have often been formed in isolation has for example been claimed only to lead to descriptions of micro processes, lacking any considerations of connections to macro perspectives. This has for a long time been a subject for internal discussions among the advocates of grounded theory that manifest different opinions according to theoretical points of departure. Some (earlier) sociologists point to the emphasis by symbolic interactionism of not structure or system but social interaction as constituting the base, whereas others (more recently) in contrast stress a relation of interactive behaviour to structure, regarding it as a challenge for the researcher to analyse the connection of micro-macro (Guvå & Hylander 2003:83f). It is therefore of importance, even though the theory has emerged 'alone', to compare it with existing theories as well as asking oneself if it really constitutes something both new and useful. The mentioned danger of remaining at a descriptive level, not turning possible discoveries into abstract language, further contains the risk of letting the theory solely repeat something old, already discovered (Guvå & Hylander 2003:80, 93).

Application of the theory

Because of the complex shape of the working process, being strict in its rules, time consuming and chaotic, proposing quite demanding requirements and, furthermore, leading to confusion caused by the changeable definitions by the theory's founders, few researchers claim, according to Guvå and Hylander (2003:9ff, 77), a use of the total outlines of grounded theory. Mostly, the easier way is chosen with own research only considered to be *inspired* from it.

However, I would like to object to such a 'picking out of the raisins', which would risk the danger of simplify to a serious degree the theory of use and possibly turn the research into a coward's zigzag way that turns a blind eye to and escape the complexities instead of facing them.

This study has chosen to claim as much as possible of the theory. However, since its analysis belong to the field of archaeology, I would surely do a great deal of violence on my work if I would try to pressure it – probably needing shoehorn! – into the above described outlines as a set ready to use without doing any modulations, missing the device of "/…/letting our own studies guide us/…/." (Guvå and Hylander 2003:77, *my translation*). So, for example, the labels and constitution of the steps will appear slightly modified. The thesis also does not follow the quite strict demand of Guvå and Hylander on codes constituting verbs. Labels which may appear 'dead' in psychology can still be considered very much alive when it comes to archaeology, a field where, after all, the material world is the focal point whose properties cannot solely be dismissed to a state of passivity. Despite dead labels, one may consider them fully capable of bringing forward an 'actor's perspective'. The empirical world as it appears in the outline of Guvå and Hylander moreover appears as somewhat too rigid while the theory simultaneously develops too sovereign in its complete embracing of the former. The thesis will furthermore not end up in presenting a process that is based as much on opposites as is to be found in their studies. This is because a reciprocal action which is based on phenomena straight opposite each other is considered somewhat simplified (at least when it comes to archaeology).

There are, furthermore, practical reasons for deciding in the application of the theory: it is impossible to return to the data as is advocated. What the thesis does is instead to return to other *aspects* of the data, this being probably the most serious modulation of the theory.

The actor's perspective is grasped in the thesis as a way of approaching the toys as traces of social interaction, rather than focusing on such matters as utilization and the like. As concerns the discussion about the grounding of a new theory, the study prefers to keep to Glaser and Strauss's idea of a theory combined of old and new. A lightening of the demand of something 'new' will probably reduce the risk of uncovering something already discovered, perhaps both isolated and useless.

The four-step model of the thesis

The forthcoming working process of the study may for the reader's convenience be summoned as follows:

Two particular aspects form an entry as well as a solid basis for the analysis. The first is the presence of a significant wall revealed at the site and the question of a difference between the enclosed area and the area outside. This leads to a spatial sorting of the objects. The second is formed by the thought of a simultaneous appearance of differences and similarities on items of the same type. While this seems most significant among the cart frames, these are first chosen for analysis in a *Labelling and ordering of basics*. The variables picked out for consideration are slip and patterning (s/p) and hole size. A conceptualisation of the results into theoretical terms in turn decides the next collection of data: thickness measures, preservation state and a consideration on uniqueness/variations. This leads the second step, *Formulating concepts*, into a consideration of the very simultaneity of differences and similarities. In the third step, *Searching for dynamics*, the discs appear for particular reasons especially interesting to add, with a possibility of viewing them as a sort of contrast to the cart frames. The discs are studied according to the variable of geometrical shape. In the fourth step, *Nearing for a core*, diameter and brim thickness as well as uniqueness/variations of the discs are considered. Throughout the analysis, every variable is compared with previous results and with spatial distribution. Additionally, the results of the discs are compared with those of the cart frames. In this way, patterns of ordered and regulated character emerge, on the basis of which the fourth step returns to the question of the toy as an insoluble problem.

Some doubts and way of presentation

The validity of the demand of grounded theory to let the material, so to say, 'speak freely' by the grounding of the concepts and theory in the material, may appear somewhat doubtful due to the simultaneous permission given to the researcher, who will never be free of presumptions and always will carry an ontological and epistemological background, to choose among the data

what to collect. According to Guvå and Hylander (2003:87f), it is therefore of utmost importance for the researcher to present this background in the final report. Surely, this is an obstacle not to be ignored, giving the theory that spot of dirt that may not be possible to remove completely, and perhaps may cause researchers to flee. My choice to approach the items from their toy identifications as well as situated within a social framework could thus be stressed to limit the scope of 'free speech' from the start. Moreover, the artefacts are studied with the previous readings of children and children's material in mind. The notion of the separation, in theory as in actual research, between the focus on children as mirrors and the focus on children's own world has most likely guided the way of thinking, tentatively illustrated by the decision to turn to the discs after studying the cart frames. However, the presumptions may naturally be emphasized as fundamental too, as a power to push forward a desire to explore. As shortly mentioned above, the first sorting of the artefacts follows the presence of the specific wall dividing the settlement. The thesis tries to liberate itself as much as possible from this notion to avoid a too narrowed scope. This also, however, gives me an idea on how to begin a systematisation of the material. Truly, it would be hard to approach unknown material lacking any guidelines at all!

Concerning the author's background (or point of departure), it will probably firstly be traceable in the review of previous research and its suggestion in the end of a definition of children and toys that may be suitable for this study. Secondly, it should be viewable in the presentation of the site together with the latest discussions concerning it and, thirdly, it is of course to be seen in the chosen perspective as well as in the outline of theoretical standpoints that will follow successively.

Another obstacle of the theory, mentioned by Guvå and Hylander (2003:73) as not easy to deal with, is the presentation of the work. Being not linear in shape, it is difficult to 'force' into the traditional way of recording. However, a number of researchers do choose a presentation more or less in the traditional way or do various compromises. The advantage is that it turns easier for the reader to follow, approaching something familiar, but the disadvantage is that the special currents of chaos, characteristic for the research process, will be destroyed. Different proposals on how to deal with this matter exist. According to Guvå and Hylander (2003:74ff), Glaser suggests for example, by following a sociological model, a presentation of results only, not taking into consideration the way leading to it while the report thus begins with a general picture of the main process. Guvå and Hylander, on the other hand, propose a circular process description that outlines the successive emerging of the theory. With this, they point at the necessity of exhibiting at least some of the theories used under way.



Figure 6. The author at the start of the first step, searching for toy artefacts. The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, April 2004.

This thesis will partly present a compromise too. In the following, the working process will be presented according to the four steps (Figure 6). This will take into account the successive collection of material and analysis according to the chosen variables, the ongoing comparisons of results as well as the ideas and theoretical thinking that will occur. While resulting from previous as well as guiding further directions of analysis, the latter may be suggested as impossible to tear out of the context and present in a more traditional way with presentation of theories kept strictly separated from methodological parts. The more deepened and detailed conceptualisations are however not included in the working process but will follow in a separate chapter, also built up in four parts and ending with the emergence of a core that is connected to the opening questions but not, contrary to Glaser's proposal, presented anywhere

before. This separation is a consequence of the more abstract level of these conceptualisations. Though theoretical ideas rise in course of the analysis, the final recording of these nevertheless gains from being put in the end and rest upon *all* the results that have emerged. Theoretical standpoints taken into consideration will thus not always be mentioned in the working process but sometimes only in the following conceptualisations. In the former, only theories that form the 'backbone' of the work are presented while further ideas and thoughts of various researchers turn up in the latter. On the other hand, however, both the ongoing recording and the particular currents of thought during the working process can, throughout the analysis, be described as working at two levels simultaneously, that is, give successive life to ideas and conceptualisations as well as consider or re-consider these same ideas on the final basis of gathered results. Thus, the compromise may not be a compromise at all but a choice of putting one of these levels above the other. After all, one cannot write down the simultaneous way of thinking.

The questions which are presented as parts of the aim or main concern of the thesis may be proposed as that kind of successive description leading to the emerging final which is suggested by Guvå and Hylander. Agreeing with them on the importance of presenting the theories used during work, these questions are in fact successively formed by – and simultaneously functioning as guidelines for – the four steps of the working process and the four parts of the deepened conceptualisations. The first question will therefore be connected to the first step of the working process which in turn will be linked to the first part of the following conceptualisations. My choice, in the final compilation, to cluster these four questions to the formulation of the aim in the beginning of the thesis could thus be suggested as yet another compromise (for the sake of understandable outline and convenient reading).

4. The Harappan Realm

The Harappan realm: a brief introduction

For those of the readers who are not familiar with the Harappan realm and archaeology, a broad description of this will be given which will try to encompass most of its typical features and debated issues.

After initial excavations undertaken by Ram Sahni and Banerji at the sites of, respectively, Harappa and Mohenjo Daro in today's Pakistan in the beginning of the 1920s, Marshall announced the discovery of a new Bronze Age civilization, contemporary with the ancient Mesopotamian and Egyptian civilizations (Choksi 2002:274; Possehl 2002:12). Its time period is set to ca. 2600 – 2000-1800 BC (Ratnagar 2001:1). This time bracket refers to the urban phase proper. In more recent years, the Harappan period has been alternatively approached by use of the concept of cultural tradition by Shaffer (1992). In contrast to established periodical classifications and the isolated character of these, the concept refers to more all-embracing eras with an emphasis on the long-term (and interrelated) development of human adaptations, in turn divided into an Early Food Producing-, a Regionalisation-, an Integration- and, lastly, a Localisation Era. The eras encompass in turn one or more phases, usually divided according to a specific ceramic style and referring to one or more specific sequences within the geographic area of the tradition in question. Thus, in the particular Indus Valley Tradition, the total time bracket stretches from pre-6000 BC to around 1500 BC. The Integration Era with its single, so-called Harappan Phase refers to the urban developmental stage of this tradition, that is, ca. 2500-2000 BC.

Typical features

Geographical extension
As the geographically largest of the early civilizations, it covers an area of more than 1 million sq km, stretching from Shortugai in Afghanistan in the northwest and Alamgirpur near Delhi in the northeast to Sutkagen-dor on the Makran coast in southwest Pakistan and Daimabad near Bombay in the southeast (Jansen 2002:105; Parpola 1986:399). Most of the about 1500 sites are recognized as small villages, others as towns or small cities (10 – 50 hectares) while five sites are classified as major urban centres: Mohenjo Daro, Harappa, Ganweriwala, Rakhigarhi and Dholavira. The perhaps most well-known of these, Mohenjo Daro near the Indus river in Sindh, Pakistan, is the largest and exhibits an inhabited area greater than 250 hectares (Kenoyer 2000:49f) (Figure 7).

Most of the people were farmers and herders (Possehl 2002:63). While farming generally constitutes the basis of early civilizations, this and stock raising may be supposed to have played a prominent role, though one should better not, since quite few studies so far have focused on aspects like underlying subsistence patterns, regard this as an absolute statement (McIntosh 2002:51f). As settlements are to a large extent concentrated to the region of the Indus and, to its east, the now dried-up Ghaggar-Hakra river system, essential for water-supply, irrigation and communication (Kenoyer 2000:27ff, 50), the Harappan sphere may at a brief glance appear quite similar to the other early, river-focused civilizations. In contrast to these, however, it did not solely encompass areas adjacent to the rivers but other, environmentally totally different areas far behind as well (Kenoyer 2000:28f). Apart from this, the Harappan sphere can in fact be suggested to exhibit a number of aspects of quite distinctive character.

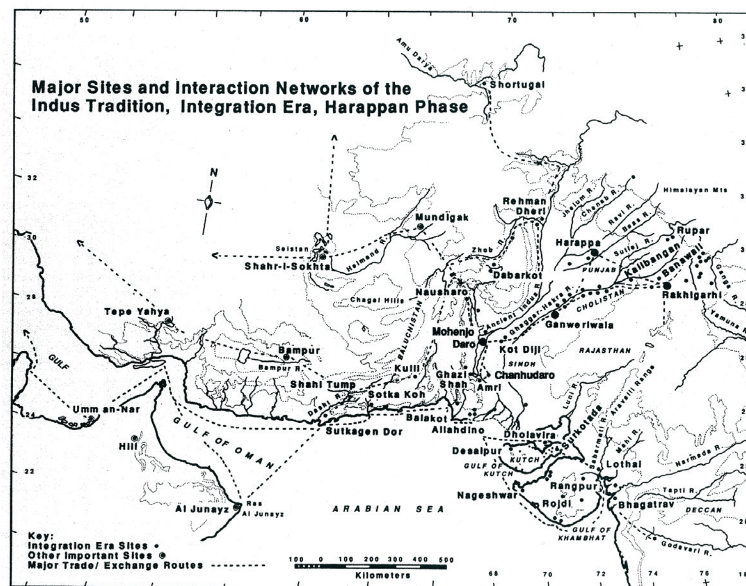


Figure 7. Map of the Harappan sphere with adjacent regions, depicting major Harappan and adjacent sites and trade routes (after Kenoyer 2000:Figure 3.3).

Brick structures and small-sized art

Typical for the Harappan cities and towns are the brick-built structures orderly outlined following a grid pattern of streets and lanes. Private houses, sometimes with two storeys, lined the streets with their windows and entrances probably only opening to the smaller lanes. A complex water- and drainage system was in use and an amount of private dwellings, supposedly of the more well-to-do inhabitants, had their own bathrooms and wells. Pottery pipes led waste water down to covered drains running under the streets. In many cases, an internal division appears at the settlements which, with help of walls and/or a constructed elevation of one part, separated the settlement in what among others has been called a specific 'citadel area' or an upper and lower town. Another characteristic feature is the absence of structures that due to size, outfit etc., could have been convincingly interpreted as temples, monuments or 'palaces' of a possible elite. The meagre evidence of warfare, both in respect to depictions and material remains, turning the 'citadel' label a bit misleading, must in this connection be mentioned too (for more on these aspects, see for example Kenoyer 2000:52ff, 81, 105; McIntosh 2002:91ff, 177ff; Parpola 1994:8; Possehl 2002:99ff, 148; Ratnagar 2001:2f; Sharma 2003:9f). Among the more famous structures appear the unique 'Great Bath' on the citadel of Mohenjo Daro (Allchin & Allchin 1982:180). Others are the so-called granaries, though the function of these have been questioned by some of today's researchers (e.g. Jansen 1991:147; Kenoyer 2000:64f; Possehl 2002:247f) (Figure 8).

The Harappan realm is moreover characterized by a sophisticated and highly specialised craft technology. While monumental art is absent, there is a distinct focus on small-sized art (Clark 2003:304). It is thought that settlements may have been highly specialized in one or a few craft technologies, though the degree of this is a matter for discussion. Among its high-quality products appear beads and figurines made by a material which was called faience, obtained by firing powdered quartz, beads of semiprecious stone like lapis lazuli or carnelian, microbeads of steatite, terracotta ornaments, bangles, ladles and other objects in shell, copper and bronze figurines and tools, chert weights, long chert blades and such, together with specific types of mostly wheel-made pottery like, for example, large storage jars. Typical are among others the Red Ware and Buff Ware and black paint on red-slipped pottery (see for example Kenoyer 2000:41, 98, 139ff, 152; McIntosh 2002:63ff; Possehl 2002:122f; Ratnagar 2001:64, 67, 70ff;

Sonawane & Ajithprasad 1994:134). One of the most well-known artefacts are the small, mostly steatite-made seals depicted with various figures, mainly animals, and a few signs of the undeciphered writing system. These are mainly put in connection with trade, where they may have been used for the sealing of goods for protection and identification (Ratnagar 2001:58ff). Human and animal figurines in terracotta have been found at many sites and constitute one of the most numerous and varied types of objects while only a few stone figurines have turned up and only in Mohenjo Daro (Ardeleanu-Jansen 2002:205).



Figure 8. Mohenjo Daro. View towards the Great Bath, located to the left, with remains of the so-called granary behind.

Far-reaching networks and uniformity

Small-scale as well as long-distance trade, the latter probably by river and apparently on sea-going ships to Mesopotamia, the Arabian peninsula and beyond, and presumably focused on luxury products, further distinguishes the Harappan period (Kenoyer 2000:91ff; McIntosh 2002:165f, 174f; Possehl 2002:218ff).[6] It is thought that a complicated communication network system may have knotted the vast area together. In fact, yet another Harappan characteristic is its strikingly high degree of uniformity. A large number of identical or standardized features show up across the vast region and in various phenomena such as in the town alignments, the drainage system and other architectural features, in (mainly high-skilled) crafts like particular pottery wares, seals, a large number of tools, ornaments and others. Weights and measures as well as the either baked or mud-made bricks are standardized, the latter appearing in two measures following the standard ratio of 1:2:4 (Allchin & Allchin 1982:171ff; Kenoyer 2000:52ff; McIntosh 2002:124f; Ratnagar 2001:61ff; pers. comm., Ajithprasad and Bhan 2004).

'Survivors'

Traditionally, this has resulted in the interpretation of the Harappa culture as a highly regulated, monotonous and centralised society. However, many of these 'typical' interpretations are to be seen as survivors from earlier Indus researchers like Wheeler (Possehl 2002:248; pers. comm., Shinde 2004).[7] Addressing one of the most famous Harappan artefacts, the so-called 'Priest-King' in steatite, Wheeler described for instance the Harappan realm as an Indus Imperium, a theocracy controlled by priest-kings residing in its twin capital cities Mohenjo Daro and Harappa (Jansen 2002:105; Ratnagar 2001:115; Wheeler 1968:5, 86f). Consequently, the interpretations of the upper and lower town parts were socially loaded too (Kenoyer 2000:52). The sudden downfall of the civilization or the suggested slaughtering of the Harappans by Aryan invaders, taking another example, is also to be traced back to earlier interpreters (Possehl 2002:249).

[6] For more on this subject, in particular dealing with Harappan trade and interaction in the context of a 'Middle Asian Interaction Sphere' as well as with its suggested two-level existence, see Possehl 1996, 1997.

[7] For an illustration on these survivals, see popular press in particular, e.g. Edens 1997.

Recent thoughts and approaches

Own context?

Today, a large number of traditional interpretations are questioned, revised or, as with the Aryan invasion idea (McIntosh 2002:178f), more or less abandoned. Though the period of decline may appear short, the 'downfall' has for example been given more balanced considerations and multiple causes. Put into a larger context, this has among others been interpreted in connection with changing trade routes and interrupted sea contacts with the West (Jansen 2002:122; Ratnagar 2002:121ff).

Because of the undeciphered script, the absence of monumental or religious buildings and the like, essential parts of the social structure such as administration, political organisation or ideology remain elusive and in focal point for discussions. However, in contrast to earlier Harappan researchers, various scholars strive to avoid a too biased comparison of the Harappan sphere with, for instance, the Mesopotamian. Rather, the ambition is stressed to comprehend it as a totally different social system that may better be searched for in its own, South Asian context (pers. comm., Bhan 2004; see for example Kenoyer 2004).

Mobile ideologies?

Pointing to communication as an essential aspect and comparing with later traditions on the subcontinent, an ideology of leadership and religion which may have been based on concepts of peace and order is for instance suggested by Kenoyer (2000:18ff, 81ff). A mobile character is further described for this, expressed in processions, ambulating narrators, theatre players and ritual performances which were not bound inside structures but held outside, perhaps under a sacred tree (which in that case perhaps would give a clue to the conspicuous temple absence!).[8] While modulating traditional ideas of the female figurines as mother goddesses related to domestic cults of common people (e.g. Wheeler 1968:109), a fertility cult including various cult objects has been proposed as an integrated part of the ideology which would have belonged to domestic rituals shared by all social groups (Kenoyer 2000:111ff, 132ff). Since different cult interpreted objects have turned up in different areas, such as very few female figurines having been recorded east of the Indus Valley (Ardeleanu-Jansen 2002:208), geographically parted and remarkably diversified beliefs have further been accentuated (McIntosh 2002:107f, 124, Ratnagar 2002:70). Calling attention to the high level of communication, a distinct Indus ideology, distinguished through technology, urbanization, nihilism and a symbolic significance of water, has also been suggested (Possehl 2002:55, 148, 250). Whatever constituted the ideology or ideologies, Wright (1991:214f), in her discussion on the development of pottery production, points at the obstacle of the unknown ideology that must have underpinned labour divisions. She emphasizes the invalidity of the typical, evolutionistic shifts in economic and social relations, commonly ascribed to state formations as a universal model, to the Harappan context to which therefore a different kind of state configuration seems to be provided.

Divided leadership and craft control?

With the rejection of the idea of a centralised, priest-controlled state and the twin capitals[9], different suggestions have been presented as to the political constitution and unifying nature. While among others highlighting that larger buildings have not been found in clusters but spread out all over the town, a leadership divided between several clans or elite groups, with a unification of the cities through economic and religious networks rather than through warfare, is for instance proposed (e.g. Kenoyer 2000: 81ff, 91). The control of craft production and trade is claimed by a number of researchers as a promising key to gain better insight into the nature of administration and leadership. With analogies drawn from contemporary South Asian craft technology structures, complex systems of craft production have been suggested for the

[8] For more reasoning on the temple absence and the idea of loose-bound, non-place-focused rituals, see also Ratnagar 2002:77f.

[9] For a review of objections towards the latter, see Jansen 2002.

Harappan period, in which the control of production would have been essential for access to political power (e.g. Kenoyer 2000: 81ff; pers. comm., Bhan 2004).[10] Larger centres may have controlled the movement of goods through their adjacent regions and the access to resources. Farmers, hunter-gatherers, fisherfolk and so forth, living in smaller communities and bands, may have supported towns and cities (Kenoyer 2000:49f).

'Core' area?

Different suggestions for the location of the Harappan 'core' area exist. One example points at three economic 'pockets' along the Ghaggar-Hakra river system and proposes these as a significant base for the emergence of the urban character (Joshi according to Sharma & Sharma 2003:41f). In contrast, Jansen (2002:118ff) stresses that this river and the Indus constitute a north-south settlement network in a centre-periphery pattern, with Mohenjo Daro as its administrative centre. This would among others depend on its access, via the river, to both northern resource areas as to the sea in the south. Jansen thus proposes that its location would have been highly strategic when a supposed collapse of the inland trade route towards West in the second half of the third millennium possibly may have lead to the shift to sea-borne trade.

Variability - contextuality

Other typical Harappan features, especially emphasized today, are for instance the characteristic mobility and proliferation into various ecozones which are proposed as essential for the growth and geographical expansion (Sonawane & Ajithprasad 1994:129). The network system and its interconnection of the various settlements is further put in focus. According to the centre-periphery idea, Jansen (2002:122) suggests that settlements in the latter may have been located in different ecological niches, each with access to and specialized in one or a few raw materials. Along with the questioning of various traditional statements concerning 'typical' Harappan features, one can see a growing focus on diversity which puts doubt on the previous thought of a "Pan-Indus system" (Ardeleanu-Jansen 1993:6), by, for example, objecting to the idea of monotony or to the picture of conform, grid-planned towns (e.g. Possehl 2002:248). This may further be said to support an emphasis on diversities in pottery and the definitions of cultural traditions which contributes to, as well as modulates, the picture of uniformity (e.g. Sonawane & Ajithprasad 1994; an illustrative example of this is shown in the following account on Harappan Gujarat).

With the regional approach, a more holistic view has emerged which highlights aspects such as subsistence patterns and creates new focal points of study. One example is the attempt by Possehl (according to Choksi 2002:283f) to show that the Post Urban phase may not have been that period of total decline that is traditionally held in opinion.[11]

Gujarat: a Harappan southeast fringe

The Indian state of Gujarat consists of the land bordering Pakistan in the northwest and the Arabian Sea in the south. Its westernmost part, Kachchh, becomes virtually an island during the monsoon period. Across the Gulf of Kachchh, towards south, lies the peninsula called Saurashtra. On the other side of the Rann of Kachchh, separating Kachchh from the land in the east, lies north Gujarat, a third region. Its easternmost part stretches south until it borders the state of Maharashtra.

Beginning with archaeological studies in the 1930s, over 500 Harappan affiliated sites have so far been discovered (Figure 9:App.). The affiliation varies and there are different

[10] For an illustrative example, concerned with the shell working at the site of Nagwada, see Bhan & Gowda 2003.

[11] For a similar objection to the established idea of an explicitly sudden emergence of the Classical Harappan cultural complex, with a particular focus on the case of Gujarat, see Ajithprasad 2002; Shinde 1998. For another holistic approach, see Bhan & Gowda 2003.

opinions as to the importance and degree of Classical Harappan constitution of the various sites (Sonawane & Ajithprasad 1994:129f; pers. comm., Ajithprasad 2004). According to Bhan (pers. comm. 2004), Classical Harappan sites are those of Lothal, Surkotada, Dholavira, Bagasra, Nageshwar and Nagwada.

With the partition in 1947, the Archaeological Survey of India initiated programmes for searching indications of Harappan sites within India. According to Choksi (2002:274), Rao conducted excavations at the sites of Rangpur and Lothal and established them as Harappan. On the basis of the ceramic assemblages from Rangpur, a chronological division of the Harappa culture in Gujarat into four parts was suggested by Rao, with a subsequent three-fold division with which he divided the period into Mature, Late and Post-Harappan. A unilinear evolution of cultural material was thus presented that helped subsequent excavations by linking them to the Rangpur sequence but constrained them as well due to the neglecting of existing variations. The term Post-Harappan was moreover later abandoned as this phase was found to be developed from the preceding phase. 'Late Harappan' has thus been used for all the cultural stages after the Mature (Sonawane & Ajithprasad 1994:130; pers. comm., Ajithprasad 2004). Later radiocarbon dates from Lothal and the site of Surkotada indicated a settling down of Classical Harappan in Gujarat ca. 2400 – 2300 BC (Choksi 2002:276).

A new terminology was according to Sonawane and Ajithprasad (1994:130) established by Possehl who defined the phases Pre-urban, Urban and Post-urban, which however presented obstacles too since it among others was not applicable to all regions of the Harappan sphere. However, during later research, as Sonawane and Ajithprasad continue, doubt arose as to the validity of Harappan homogeneity, while various scholars rather called attention to the amount of sites in Gujarat displaying not only features of typical Harappan shape but ceramics and other material different from that as well.[12] Regional diversity with a focus of the diverse, so called Chalcolithic traditions was therefore suggested as a more proper perspective (Ajithprasad & Sonawane 1993:1). This point of view came with the radiocarbon dates of the site at Rojdi, excavated by Possehl and Raval (1989), which revealed material relics including ceramics distinctly different from the typical Harappan. The dates showed that rather than being of Late Harappan, as was previously thought, it was contemporary with Mature Harappan. At the same time, region-based research strategies resulted into the exploration of several new sites in Gujarat. This lead to the recognition of regional, non-Harappan Chalcolithic traditions, either contemporary with or sometimes even earlier than the Harappa culture in Gujarat (Choksi 2002:277; Sonawane & Ajithprasad 1994:130f) (Figure 10:App.).

Features of Chalcolithic traditions

Saurashtra

With the discoveries at Rojdi of the two distinct Harappan assemblages present in Gujarat, the concepts were established of a *Sorath Harappan* tradition, different from the *Classical Harappan*[13] and specific to the region of Central Saurashtra in terms of settlement, subsistence and material culture. The latter (the pottery) displays for example technical and stylistic similarities with the Harappan pottery but lacks the specific vessel forms and the typical black and red painting. The date of its begin is suggested at the start of the Harappan establishment in Gujarat, before 2500 BC (Choksi 2002:277; Sonawane & Ajithprasad 1994:131, 138).

In Coastal Saurashtra, the Pre-Prabhas and Prabhas cultures were recognized as regional Chalcolithic traditions. They were based on the excavations at the site Prabhas Patan (Somnath). According to Dhavalikar and Possehl (1992; Sonawane & Ajithprasad 1994:132), the Pre-Prabhas culture exhibited four different types of ceramics, mostly of coarse fabric and

[12] This must be seen in line with the view of pottery and other items as expressions and representations of different socio-economic groups of people, which may be important to mention.

[13] Though Sonawane and Ajithprasad use the term 'Sindhi Harappan' in this case, the label 'Classical Harappan' is preferred here due to the use of this term throughout the study (see 'Some key words and spellings').

hand-modelled and found together with artefacts such as steatite and faience beads. The date of this early level is close to 3000BC. Therefore, the site is suggested as one of Gujarat's earliest agricultural settlements. In Period II, sub-spherical bowls and large pots painted in purple or red-brown pattern different from the Harappan patterns, the Prabhas ware, predominate. The Prabhas assemblage is dated to 2200 BC (Sonawane & Ajithprasad 1994:132; pers. comm., Ajithprasad 2004).

On the eastern coast of the Gulf of Khambhat, excavations at the site of Padri yielded pottery which shows similarities with the Sorath shape and lack the Classical Harappan features. In the same levels, however, it also produced a ceramic type of its own called 'Padri Ware' (Sonawane & Ajithprasad 1994:132). This ware occurs in a thick and a thin variety. The former is of a coarse type with a thick, red slip and painted, mainly constituted by convex sided bowls, basins and globular pots. The latter appears as small, globular pots of fine clay and is of similar red slip and painted (Shinde 1998:177f). In deeper excavations of the site, this ceramic turned up again in a deposit belonging to the second half of the fourth millennium BC. Padri therefore turned out to be as old, or even older, than Prabhas Patan (Sonawane & Ajithprasad 1994:132). Certain similarities were further noted between this ware and the ware of the so-called Savalda culture found in sites in today's state of Maharashtra, southeast of Gujarat. As to the presence of Padri Ware in the levels of Harappan time period, it was for example suggested that there existed cultural contacts between the approximately contemporary Savalda culture and Gujarat (Shinde 1998:178ff). The structural remains of the site at Padri seem to consist of one multi-roomed brick structure surrounded by mud-built houses, lacking any indications of a planned layout (pers. comm., Shinde 2004).

Bhal

In the Bhal region, north of the Gulf of Khambhat, are among others the mentioned sites of Lothal and Rangpur as well as the site of Vagad situated. Two distinct sets of ceramic assemblages called the Micaceous Red Ware and the Black and Red Ware occurred on these sites, side by side with Classical Harappan pottery. A stud-handle bowl of hemispherical shape and other vessels, well fired and reddish in colour, constitute the pottery of the first category, dated to 2500 BC. The Black and Red Ware, on the other hand, similar to the Micaceous Red Ware as well as, in some cases, resembling the Harappan Red Ware and Buff Ware, is suggested of slightly earlier origin and of a more widespread occurrence, appearing for example in the early Pre-Prabhas assemblage at Prabhas Pathan as well. The layers of Vagad display illustrative examples of mixtures. Some of its pottery exhibit Classical Harappan features while other characteristic Harappan materials like seals are missing and construction remains point to wattle-and-daub built circular huts, proposed as typical for the Chalcolithic settlements (Sonawane & Ajithprasad 1994:133f).

Kachchh

Dholavira, one of the largest Harappan settlements in Gujarat and previously mentioned as one of the major urban centres of the Harappan sphere, lies on an island in the Great Rann of Kachchh. It measures almost hundred hectares and is encircled as well as divided by mighty walls into a Citadel, Middle town and Lower town. The deepest deposit, 12 metres down, shows traces of a Pre-Harappan period. It reveals among others a few potsherds different from typical Harappan pottery, made in a Red Ware coated in white or other slip colours. By use of indications of copper working, mud-brick structural remains and others, this stage has been interpreted to constitute the foundation of the Urban Harappan period while the latter reveals typical Harappan properties (Sonawane & Ajithprasad 1994:134).

North Gujarat

Because of a long-lived thought of north Gujarat as an inhospitable environment not appreciated by Harappan settlers, this region was the last to be explored (Sonawane & Ajithprasad 1994:133f). However, having revealed over 100 Chalcolithic sites with varying

degrees of Harappan affiliation, a Chalcolithic tradition specific to the north has in recent years been proposed by Sonawane and Ajithprasad, called the *Anarta tradition* after the region's traditional name (Choksi 2002:278). The distinction of the Anarta pottery was proposed after excavations at the site of Nagwada, whose second phase exposed a Chalcolithic settlement affiliated to the Classical Harappan phase. It exhibited typical Harappan artefacts at the same time as it was predominated by four types of ceramic different from the Harappan, which, on the other hand, only constituted a negligible number of the entire assemblage. Of these, the most common is the Gritty Red Ware. Its insufficiently elutriated, painted vessels in red or chocolate slip bear similarities with the Padri Ware. The second type, Fine Red Ware, differs from the first by being made of well elutriated clay. The last types, the Burnished Red Ware and the Burnished Grey/Black Ware, only appear as small and middle sized pots. The first is painted with lines in white or grey on red slip and the second is painted in white. The four types share common features and appear both in connection with Harappan features as well as independent from that. With the excavation of Loteshwar, this northern assemblage could moreover be dated to the fourth millennium BC. It thus points to an earlier origin than the Harappa culture in the region (Sonawane & Ajithprasad 1994:134ff).

To these regional variations may, if going deeper in time, an assemblage of burial pottery be added which has been discovered in an amount of sites in north Gujarat and is made of fine clay shaped into characteristic forms. It is not showing any striking resemblance with Harappan pottery but rather with the vessels found in the Pre-Harappan levels at the sites of Kot Diji, Amri and Balakot in Sindh and Baluchistan, Pakistan. This pottery is found both in extended and pot-burials discovered in the earliest level at Nagwada as well as in a number of burials at the cemetery at Surkotada, at the sites Santhli, Moti Pipli and a few others. Considered against the dates of occupation of Kot Diji and the other Pre-Harappan sites, from the middle of the fourth millennium BC to the first half of the third millennium BC, it has been proposed that the settlements of Sindh and Baluchistan may have extended southwards and into northwest Gujarat already during Pre-Harappan times (Sonawane & Ajithprasad 1994:136).[14]

The regional diversity is according to Sonawane and Ajithprasad (1994:129) to be seen in light of the specific mobility and capacity to take advantage of different ecozones as was mentioned above. As for Saurashtra, for example, Jansen (2002:122) emphasizes its suitability for the growing of cotton in his account for the centre-periphery pattern of Harappan settlements. Lothal is in this context called attention to as a kind of gateway-settlement connected with the outside world.

The regional approach creates new kinds of questions too: what, as is stressed by Sonawane and Ajithprasad (1994:131, 136), constitutes for instance the criteria for the Sorath assemblage? Its absence of Harappan features or rather its presence of such? Should it at all be considered a homogenous tradition, or better as a mixture?

Bagasra: the site of the toys[15]

Geography and climate

Situated about one kilometre from a large creek extending towards southeast from the Gulf of Kachchh, in the heart of Gujarat, is an ancient mound which in the local Gujarati dialect is named *Gola Dhoro* (round mound). It is located in the Maliya Taluka of Rajkot District, approximately 40 kilometres north of the town Morbi. The site on the mound is known by the name of the small village about half a kilometre towards northwest; Bagasra (Figure 11; see Figure 9:App. again).

[14] For further discussion on this subject, see Ajithprasad 2002; Dhavalikar & Possehl 1992.

[15] Except for the facts which have been given a specific reference, the information of this account derives from the most recently made compilation of the Bagasra excavation reports, Sonawane *et al.* 2003.



Figure 11. The mound Gola Dhoro, enclosing the Classical Harappan site at Bagasra.

The mound is located where the three regions of north Gujarat, Kachchh and Saurashtra meet. The nearest sites of contemporary time are Shikarpur in the north, about 20 kilometres across the Gulf in Kachchh, and Kuntasi and Pithad, about 12 and 25 kilometres respectively towards southwest. It lies in the semiarid climatic zone which produces a dry climate with limited rainfall and shrub vegetation. Due to the low lying surroundings (hardly 7 metres above sea level), the mound becomes like an island during monsoon time. Near to the village lies a depression, part of which forms the traditional village tank that keeps its water till end of March. The soil is constituted by Black Cotton soil which is especially suitable for cultivation. The fields surrounding the mound are cultivated with wheat, horsegram, cotton and *bajra* (pearl millet, *Pennisetum typhoides*; Possehl 1997). The inhabitants earn their living mainly from agriculture, whereas an amount is also engaged in salt production in the nearby salt fields. Stock raising is another main activity which is usually carried out by the Bharwads and Rabaries, professional stock keepers who traditionally move with their herds corresponding to a seasonal pattern. The fishing, yet another important economic activity, in turn belongs to the Kolis, a fishing community who live on the shore of the Gulf engaged in ebb and flow based fishing except during the monsoon, when fishing conditions turn unsuitable. In fact, villages like Bagasra are commonly constituted by composite populations in which these as well as other communities form integral parts (pers. comm., Ajithprasad 2004).

Prime aims of excavation

The site was first to be reported in the late 1980's joint exploration by the Deccan College, Pune, and the Gujarat State Archaeology Department. The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda carried out a surface survey of the site in 1995. Excavations began in 1995-1996 and was conducted each year since until the season of 2005, with the exceptions of the years 1999, when bad weather shortened the season, and 2001, when the big Gujarat earthquake interrupted.

The site constitutes a coastal Harappan settlement with distinctly urban features. It did not originate from any previous habitation since its earliest level rests on natural soil. The time period for its urban phase is set to ca. 2500BC to 1900 BC (pers. comm., Ajithprasad 2004).

Beside its Classical Harappan features, the settlement has revealed traces of the above mentioned Sorath Harappan and Anarta traditions. It has been emphasized as the only site where it is possible to trace the stratigraphic context of these different Chalcolithic cultural traits. The search for this context and the establishing of a cultural sequence was therefore one of the main focal points for the excavations. Another was the tracing of the impressive wall that was revealed during the first season of excavation. The focus was also put on the pattern of craft activities, since these are suggested to have been on an industrial scale, having had an essential role in the settlement's economy and urban character. This patterning has been searched for in light of the strategic location of the site at the intersection of the three Gujarat

regions, which is considered to have given the site an important role as a connecting link in cultural interactions.

Size and appearance

The site is considered a rather small settlement. Though population estimations are highly speculative, a guess may tentatively point at roughly no more than 500-700 inhabitants living at the same time at the settlement (pers. comm., Bhan 2004).

The site is almost rectangular shaped and covers an area of 160 x 120 metres. Its longer axis has been approximated to 15 degrees west of the north direction (Excavations at Bagasra 1995-96: A Preliminary Report: 4). Its southeast side rises about 7.5 metres above the surrounding plain. The south side is best described as a gradual slope covering about 60 – 70 metres before merging with the surroundings. The northwest side slopes down too, whereas the northeast side turns quite steep (Figure 12).

The excavations have been conducted according to a grid system divided into squares of 300 x 300 metres with the mound placed in its centre. The squares were in turn divided into subsequent smaller squares. A designation of a trench will therefore be for example 5Eq2, generally shortened to Eq2 since all trenches share the number of the first square.

The first excavations were concentrated to the well preserved northeast and southeast parts. With the emergence of the massive fortification wall (which hereafter will be mentioned solely as the wall or periphery wall)[16], subsequent excavations turned their preliminary attention towards the outlines of this.

Figure 12. Layout of the site at Bagasra with excavated trenches (1996-2004) (after Excavations at Bagasra 2003-2004: A Preliminary Report). A proper gate has later (2005) been revealed in the eastern part of the wall.

[16] In order to follow the specific working method and keep the construction as free of loadings as possible, the study will contrary to the excavation report, not mention the wall as a 'fortification wall', despite its overwhelming magnitude.

The wall

The wall encircled the northern part of the settlement, a slightly rectangular area, with its longer axis going in east-west direction. When the wall was as its largest, the area inside measured about 0.24 hectares (pers. comm., Ajithprasad 2004). Considering the thickness of the wall, the enclosed area thus appears relatively small in size.

Since most of the stone blocks in the western parts have been robbed off, the eastern side of the wall is better preserved. This yields an extant height of about 5 metres. Erected by its constructors in a tapering shape, it displays two width measures: 7.75 metres at the base and 5.20 metres at the top. The whole structure has been built during three stages during which its height and thickness were successively extended. In the first two stages, the wall was raised with a stone base topped with mud-bricks while, in the third, the height of the existing wall was increased and a stone bracing was added to its inner and outer edges. The stone consists of roughly rectangular cut sandstone slabs probably taken from local quarries. The cornerstones have been more worked into straight angles and smoothened. The mud-bricks, appearing in different compositions and sizes, all follow the Harappan standard ratio (1:2:4).

The extension of the wall during its reconstruction in the second stage was done inward, which led to the cutting off of earlier structures. Traces of this are to be seen both in the southwest and southeast corners (trenches Eb9, Eb10 and Eq2). Internal, square shaped 'bastions' were detected in the northeast and southeast corners. They display an offset of 3.80 metres. During the second stage, two supporting, parallel walls of sandstone of poor quality were successively erected outside the southwest corner. Both were probably filled up with mud and the inner one was situated almost 2 metres from the wall.

An entry/exit passage was found in the south wall in the trenches Eh1 and Eh2 (Excavations at Bagasra 2003-2004: A Preliminary Report: 8), which due to its narrow appearance (about 1 metre; pers. comm., Ajithprasad 2004) at first was questioned as a proper gate and suggested perhaps rather to be seen in connection with some kind of drainage (pers. comm., Bhan 2004) (in the following excavation season, in 2005, no traces of a drainage system could be found, which thus suggests this indeed to be a narrow passage between the southern area and the area enclosed by the wall. In this same season, a proper entry/exit gate was lastly revealed too. It is situated on the eastern side of the wall in trenches Ek15 and Ep3).

Depth and time

Six trenches were selected for deep sounding. In two of these, the natural soil was not possible to reach. The others were: Er13 and Eq2 in the eastern, highest part of the mound, Do5 in the north and Eo10 in the south. Er13 constitutes the deepest trench with a habitation deposit of 7. 75 metres in 17 layers while Eq2 comes on second place with its 6.5 metres deep deposit of 20 layers.

Phases	Diagnostic Association: Stratigraphic, Artefactual and Architectural	Cultural affiliation and Correspondence
Phase –I Early Urban	Pre-fortification	Classical Harappan/Urban Sindhu Harappan and Anarta
Phase-II Urban	Fortification	Classical Harappan/Urban Sindhu Harappan and Anarta
Phase-III Late Urban	Sorath Harappan (Rangpur-IIA and IIB)	Classical Harappan/Urban Sindhu Harappan, Anarta and Sorath Harappan (Rangpur-IIA and IIB; Rojdi-A and B)
Phase-IV Post-Urban	Sorath Harappan (Rangpur-IIC)	Post-Urban Sorath Harappan (Rangpur-IIC and Rojdi-C)

Table 1. Harappan cultural sequence at Bagasra (after Sonawane *et al.* 2003:Table 1)

On the basis of structural features, material remains and quantitative distribution, the site can be divided into four phases of occupation. Phases I-III all belong to the Urban Harappan period while phase IV constitutes a Post-Urban Harappan phase. Since the radiocarbon dating of some charcoal samples have so far not been completed, the date of the site must be seen as relative. The internal time periods of the phases have been broadly comprised by, for example,

linking the pottery types to similar pottery from Dholavira, Rojdi, Rangpur and other dated sites (Table 1). The internal time divisions have thus been outlined as follows:
Phase I: close to 2450 BC
Phase II: ca. 2400 – 2100 BC
Phase III: ca. 2100 – 1900 BC
Phase IV: ca. 1900 – 1700 BC

The trenches Er13 and Eo10 are the only deep trenches which exhibit all phases, whereas, for example, Eq2 only tell of phases I and II.

Occupation

Phase I

The first phase of the Harappan habitation is also named the pre-fortification phase due to its absence of the wall. Traces of structures made of uniform and finely shaped, dark grey mud bricks of the standard ratio and of better quality than in the subsequent phases (pers. comm., Ajithprasad 2004), have been revealed on top of a dark clay soil deposit that lies on the natural sediment. Best preserved is a structure in trench Eo2, Eo6 and Eo10 in the southern part of the site (Excavations at Bagasra 2003-2004: A Preliminary Report: 4). It displays 65 centimetres thick walls with two doorways. The walls were originally covered in a whitish plaster and enclosed an area of 3.7 x 3.3 metres. The floors were also plastered. A storage bin in one corner is suggested to have been used for storing grain while an adjacent room has a large grinding stone (Excavations at Bagasra 2003-2004: A Preliminary Report: 5). Since various household objects, pottery and other items have been found here, it is suggested to be an ordinary dwelling. Structures associated with craft activity also appear. One example is a small brick structure inside the enclosed area, near to the western wall in trench Eb11.

The pottery of this early time consists of Classical Harappan Red Ware with typical shapes, a potsherd of Black and Red Ware, Anarta pottery types and what may be a local pottery type. The last two are better represented in this phase than in the following. Beads of carnelian and lapis lazuli, shell bangles and shell inlay pieces, terracotta objects like the typical Harappan triangular terracotta cakes, toy wheels, toy cart frames, discs and spindle whorls, lithic tools, a few copper items, an agate weight and other artefacts have also been found.

Phase II

A high degree of craft and construction activities distinguishes this phase. It is stressed as the most prosperous stage, displaying the thickest cultural debris of more than 5 metres. Several successive working floors have come to light and a number of mud brick structural remains, especially in the western part of the enclosed area. This also comprises the phase where the three stages of the wall construction are to be found. It displays a distinct urban constitution with an overall systematic planning. All structures as well as the wall show the same alignment, pointing 12 grades west from the magnetic north. The wall divides the settlement into two halves with the outside, southern part slightly lower than the enclosed, northern area. The layout has therefore been suggested to follow the typical Harappan town planning.

Craft activities are indicated both within and outside the wall though the highest concentration is found on the inside, were all structures have been associated with it. This is however not to say that the area was devoid of any regular habitation. According to Ajithprasad (pers. comm. 2004), people may well have had their living areas in simple habitation structures adjoining the craft activity locations, for example indicated by finds of household and toy objects. At the same time, however, a significantly small amount of hearths have appeared on the site (pers. comm., Bhan 2004).

The construction remains in the western area are grouped around two walls of 1.20 metres thickness. These run parallel to the periphery wall, 1.70 metres apart and each with a thickness of 1.20 metres. Various structures were built and rebuilt around these walls but with little change in the basic plan. Probably, most of them belong to the second stage of the wall construction. One of these structures, 'Wb1', belongs to the last stages and appears in the

trenches Ea12, Ea16, Eb9 and Eb13. It displays an almost rectangular shape with one of its walls running parallel to the periphery wall. It measures 5.80 metres in the west and 3.20 metres in the north. Its western wall continues north in the trench Ea11 where it joins an east-west running wall and forms the corner of the chamber 'Wb1a'. To the east of this, in the southern part of Ea 15, traces of another chamber, 'Wb1b', are to be seen. The area reveals slightly earlier structures too, mostly adherent to the periphery wall. A rectangular shaped structure in quite good state of preservation, 'Wb2', is exposed in the trenches Ea8 and Ea7. The periphery wall forms one of its four walls. At its southwest corner, adherent to the periphery wall, a series of bricks in a row divide an area paved with a mud-brick floor into small, demarcated spaces. On the eastern side of the structure, its wall runs southward in the trenches Eb9 and Eb10. A series of walls at a right angle to this wall and the periphery wall create a row of structures in between. This south going wall, as well as the offset walls, appear for various reasons to belong to structures earlier than the 'Wb2' and prior to the second stage of the periphery wall (Figure 13:App.).

In the southern part of the site, two floors associated with a mud brick structure turn up in the trench Ei15, displaying different household objects. Traces of a rectangular mud brick structure on a stone foundation are to be seen further south, in the trenches Eo2, Eo6, Eo10 and Eo11; a mud brick wall in the southern part of the last trench in turn seems to belong to a brick structure in the trench Eo16. It has a row of chambers and what appears to be a sort of veranda. The outline of the structure follows the same layout as the structure below, of phase I, which therefore may indicate that phase II structures generally followed the structural plans of the previous phase. A hearth-like, ashy, circular patch, a grinding stone and three pots suggest that one of the rooms functioned as a kitchen (Excavations at Bagasra 2003-2004: A Preliminary Report: 3ff) (Figure 14:App.).

Classical Harappan pottery appears in a much higher quantity than in the previous phase and both in the Red Ware and the Buff Ware. Anarta pottery and possibly a local ceramic type are present too. Some pieces of Sorath Harappan pottery appear in the upper layers of the phase.

Copper tools, including some fishhooks and a large spearhead, lithic, shell and terracotta items and other objects have been found in far greater numbers than in the other phases. Typical Harappan items are more abundant, including two steatite seals, terracotta sealings, weights of various shapes, triangular terracotta cakes, tops, toy cart frames, animal figurines of Harappan form, long blades of the Rohri chert, copper/bronze chisels, beads of steatite, faience and different semiprecious stone as well as shell bangles marked with a 'V' (Chevron decoration). A *parasu* or small copper battleaxe and copper knives with bone covers were also recovered (Excavations at Bagasra 2003-2004: A Preliminary Report: 4).

Phase III

This phase consists of a deposit averaging 1.20 metres. It exhibits disarray in features like ordering of space and waste disposal. Structures from phase II seem still to have been in use but there are but a few indications pointing to the building of new constructions. These consist of some intact floors of brickbats and clay covered with lime plaster. Several pots and clay-lined silos for storage are embedded in them and a few are associated with hearths and mud brick structural remains. They are found in the trenches Ei15 and Ei11 and thought to have been habitation structures (pers. comm., Ajithprasad 2004). Traces of a rectangular mud brick structure is also to be seen further south in the trenches Eo6, Eo10 and Eo11 (Excavations at Bagasra 2003-2004: A Preliminary Report: 3).

The pottery proves to be mainly of the Sorath Harappan type and, in smaller quantity, of the Classical Harappan, while some sherds of the Micaceous Red Ware and the Black and Red Ware turn up too. A few pots bear similarities to the Prabhas Ware. Other material remains appear in less quantity than in the previous phase. Among them, there is a hoard of copper objects, consisting of six copper/bronze bangles and an axe of Harappan shape that is found in a copper pot in trench El15, put beside the wall. Typical Harappan artefacts are present in this

phase as well but in less number: Rohri chert blades, different beads and shell bangles, a few sealings, triangular terracotta cakes and toy cart frames, a cubical chert weight and others.

Phase IV

The last phase overlies phase III without any stratigraphic break. Except for a few rubble stone structures in the trenches Es3 and Es4, built by reusing stones from earlier constructions, no building remains are traceable. Moreover, this deposit does not show up in any of the trenches inside the wall, which thus points to a habitation confined only to the outside area. Habitation deposits have for example been revealed in the upper layers of the trenches Eo2, Eo6 and Eo11 (Excavations at Bagasra 2003-2004: A Preliminary Report: 2ff). On some locations, particularly in the trenches Eq8 and El16, the deposit spills over the wall with pits that belong to the same phase dug on top of the wall. Other pits are located south of the wall in areas featuring the phase IV deposit. Since the pits are partially dug into earlier structures, the inhabitants do not seem to have used the latter ones anymore.

The pottery is of a late Sorath Harappan type. No potsherds of Classical Harappan type are present. A relatively small quantity of material remains has shown up and no objects of typical Harappan features.

Subsistence and craft activities

Subsistence was probably based on agriculture, stock-raising and exploitation of mammal and marine fauna. The latter included both fishing and collecting various bivalves, mollusc shells, lobsters and crabs and shows a marked increase in the phases III and IV (Excavations at Bagasra 2003-2004: A Preliminary Report: 17). Fish remains, such as otoliths and vertebrae, appear in high amount all over the site and especially from phase III. As for the domesticated animals, an abundance of remains of cattle, buffalo, sheep and goats appear. A number of skeletal traces also point to different wild species, among others gazelle, nilgai and pigs, abundant even today in the area (Excavations at Bagasra 2003-2004: A Preliminary report: 16). Unfortunately, since few seeds and other floral remains are preserved, this particular aspect of life cannot be accounted for the more at the moment.



Figure 15. One of the participants in the excavation at Bagasra, Ramesh Bijal, sitting next to a part of one of the large heaps of shell revealed in the shell working area.

A number of craft activities are indicated at the site:

Phase I

In phase I, traces of shell industry waste and pottery production are to be seen and the structure in the western part of the enclosed area, mentioned as an example of craft activity, may have been used for copper working.

Phase II

The majority of evidences of craft activities appear in the prosperous phase II. One of the probably highly essential craft activities seems to have been a vigorous shell industry. This was located in the western part of the enclosed area and belong to the last stages of the phase. Shell artefacts such as bangles of different types, beads and ladles as well as shell waste are abundant all over the site. But in the above mentioned structure 'Wb1', three large heaps of shells beside its western wall have been unearthed (in trenches Ea12 and Eb9). In its proximity, shell debris such as cut off shell circlets and finished and unfinished bangles appear. The structure has

therefore been associated with a shell workshop together with its adjacent chamber 'Wb1a'. The shells in the heaps consist mostly of the species *Turbinella pyrum*, which was used for making bangles, the most common shell artefact found on the site. No kind of working platform has been traced, which however can be due to the thin soil layer covering the remains (Figure 15).

Still in the western part of the enclosed area, the area north of the wall running east-west, mentioned above, reveals a special kind of deposit consisting of a claylike material in white-grey colour tones. This is suggested also to belong to some craft activity, maybe in connection with the shells or possibly with steatite working. In the southeast corner of the enclosed area, suggestions have been made of a possible faience production, which would be located in time to before the last stage of the wall construction. Large amounts of faience beads and bangles, beads still in an uncompleted state of coating and waste such as quartz lumps have appeared. In trench Eq2, lots of ash layers mixed with both unfinished and finished faience beads seem to point at a kind of workshop. Nearby, half dug into an ash-mixed soil, the bottoms of two large pots emerged with remains of their content still to be seen. This consisted of a sort of hard, calcareous material which has been proposed as the mixture for making the faience paste. The idea is based on an analogy drawn from India today, where villagers sometimes mix a solution of wood-ash with water in earthen pots that will turn rich in alkalis and become suitable, for example, for the washing of cloths. The remaining content may perhaps have been made in a similar technique with wood-ash stirred with grounded quartz and some binding material. Near to the pots, a well preserved fire place has been interpreted as the kiln for the firing of faience (pers. comm., Ajithprasad 2004). Heaps of shell found in the same area may perhaps point to the presence of shell working too. Just north of the Eq2 trench and separated by a thin mud brick wall, a row of five large, clay-lined silos in different sizes was further revealed. The silos belong to a layer slightly earlier than the supposed faience making area, but were probably still in use when the latter started (pers. comm., Ajithprasad 2004). Three of the silos were found empty but two contained semiprecious stone (of which beads were generally made) in unworked condition (Figure 16:App.).

No traces of any stone bead production appear in connection with the silos. Beads of a variety of semiprecious stone, particularly of carnelian but also of lapis lazuli, amazonite and many others, have been found in large quantity all over the site and stone bead production seems to have been the second most important craft activity though the actual place of production remains unresolved. A possible place for this has been suggested for the trench Eh3 just outside the wall adjacent to its southwest corner. No working floor has been found but bead working debitage, worn-out drill bits and beads at different stages of production are present in the phase II deposit of the trench. Associated with the structure in Ei15 outside the wall to the south, taking another suggestion, are four clay-lined silos of different sizes. Although no lithic material have been found in these, the idea has nevertheless been stressed that they perhaps may have been used for storing stones for bead making (Excavations at Bagasra 2003-2004: A Preliminary Report: 7).

A platform of mud and black clay has been traced in the trenches Eo15 and Eo16, located in the southern part of the excavated area. Probably, it was erected during phase II or earlier and, as is shown by its sequence of plasters, successively expanded in width and height during time. This platform has been associated with certain indications of kiln remains, such as a possible base of a kiln fronted by a large plastered area and partly revealed in the trench Eo15, bits of clay plaster which may have been used in the kiln construction and what appears as both kiln and pottery waste like burnt clay lumps and overfired and deformed pottery. This also appears in the nearby trenches. Though of subtle character, this could possibly indicate the pottery production of the site. The remains of a possible kiln cut off what seems to be an earlier exemplar of the same. In a later stage, kiln constructions seem to have cut off the wall mentioned above, in the trench Eo11, at different sections (Excavations at Bagasra 2003-2004: A Preliminary Report: 6). The area could in that case be proposed as truly designed for recurrent kiln activity. In this connection, one may consider that the meagre nature of evidence could partly be explained by the fact that the excavation efforts primarily have been directed

towards the tracing of the wall and its enclosing area while pottery kilns are usually located in the outskirts of a living area because of smoke, need of space and the like (pers. comm., Krishnan 2004).

Copper metallurgy seems to appear too. Possibly, this was also located in the southern part of the site where specific finds may tell of a secondary extraction of metal ingots. Small-scale seal cutting, indicated among others by an unfinished seal, may moreover have been present (Excavations at Bagasra 2003-2004: A Preliminary Report: 11ff). At least a part of the lithic material used seems also to have been produced at the site, indicated by a few flakes and core fragments of the Rohri chert.

Phase III

The different craft activities are supposed to have continued during the next phase but in a less organised way. A lot of shell working debitage as well as traces of faience working was for example found in the northeast corner of the enclosed area, in an ashy deposit belonging to this phase (pers. comm., Ajithprasad 2004). The mud-brick structural remains in the southern part, in the trenches Eo6, Eo10 and Eo11, seem on the basis of kiln waste and others to have functioned as some kind of pottery workshop (Excavations at Bagasra 2003-2004: A Preliminary Report: 5). Evidence for stone bead production is very meagre.

Phase IV

In the last phase, such objects as shell items, beads of faience or of semiprecious stone are almost completely absent. The only artefacts that may indicate craft production are some copper rods, a small knife and a few other objects, including the mentioned pottery.

The region, the Harappan context and decline

In line with contemporary research, a contextual point of view has been strived for in the interpretation of the urban settlement patterns. Thus, a net of contacts is proposed as essential 'veins' for the settlement's existence. In the mentioned study by Bhan and Gowda (2003) on the shell working at the site at Nagwada, for example, the settlement becomes linked to the coastal site of Nageshwar in the south and the smaller site of Nagwada further north in terms of shell working and the suggestion that this craft production may have been divided between the three sites in specialised 'sub divisions'.

Harappan people may, among other things, have chosen to settle in the area due to its closeness to essential resources, such as semiprecious stone reachable in Saurashtra and shells abundant along the coast. Due to the signs of shell working and, in a slightly later stage, copper working and pottery production, a firm economic base may have been prevalent already in phase I. The industrial production during phase II is considered to have been of immense importance for urban life, with the various crafts suggested as mass-produced items for trade. Though this is not possible to trace in detail, it may be indicated by, for example, the existence of seals and sealings. A few potsherds of the typical Harappan black slipped jar, which is supposed as having been used for overseas transportation, and which seems to have turned up at sites in Oman as well, may indicate overseas trade (Excavations at Bagasra 1995-1996: A Preliminary Report: 22f; pers. comm., Ajithprasad 2004). Out of the stratigraphic sequences of the pottery types, the possibility is suggested to trace cultural interactions stratigraphically. Thus, the beginning of Sorath interaction at the site at the end of phase II is for example proposed on the basis of the few Sorath Harappan potsherds which have originated in its uppermost level (see Table 1 again).[17]

The few craft items revealed during phases III and IV, the disorder seen in phase III and the end of construction activities may in contrast indicate an impoverished economy and decline of urban life. The particular location of the site has been assumed as connected to this

[17] One may repeat that this suggestion goes in line with the established idea of a connection between pottery and other remains and different cultures or groups of people. Again, one may accentuate this as important.

decline, in turn linked to the general decline of urban Harappan sites and the suggestion of it as a result, among other things, of disturbance and change in trade links and interactions. The location would in that case have turned the settlement especially sensitive to urban economic setbacks. Various aspects seem to imply some kind of discontinuity between phase III and phase IV, like the absence of a hiatus in the stratigraphic sequence, the absence of phase IV within the walled area or within the debris of the collapsed wall and so on. Phase IV thus solely belongs to the period after the indicated destruction, marking the end of the settlement's specific, urban character.

Harappan toys

At Harappan sites in general…
Although there might be objects mentioned as toys in other materials than terracotta, only the most common toy interpreted artefacts, that is, in terracotta (and made from re-used pottery in one case), will be considered in this study.

Figurines
Since most human figurines are regarded by a majority of today's researchers as probably not belonging to the toy sphere, or at least not thought of as purpose-built toys, I find it sufficient enough to consider the animal figurines. Even though their toy-role may be doubted too, they seem in general to be more closely related to the toy sphere than the former (e.g. McIntosh 2002:65; Possehl 2003:124; Ratnagar 2001:78). The animal figurines count more in number than the human figurines, including the many representing females (Ardeleanu-Jansen 1991:174). Some are well-made while others appear quite rough, some being described as having "/…/a childlike air." (Ratnagar 2001:77f). While a few are mould-made, the majority is modelled by hand. Most of them represent bulls of various types, including variants of the humped bull (the Zebu or *Bos indicus*). Among the others, a range appear: water buffaloes, bears, rhinoceroses, elephants, rabbits, dogs, pigs, a variety of birds, such as a penguin-like type which possibly may represent a sort of heron and so forth. Some figurines depict unicorns or other imaginative creatures, such as hybrids. Because of rough modelling, others are too difficult to distinguish. The absence of cows simultaneously appears a bit striking (see for example Ardeleanu-Jansen 1991:172ff; 1993:146f; Kenoyer 2000:116, 218ff; Ratnagar 2001:78; Sharma 2003:45f). The animal figurines have for a large part been given appliqué eyes, a characteristic Harappan feature (Sonawane *et al.* 2003:47). Pot-bellied and hollow birds with an opening at their tails may have constituted whistles. Other figurines are classified as 'moveable': with heads and sometimes tails and other limbs added separately, these could by means of strings pulled through the hollow bodies by small holes have been made to move up and down (Ardeleanu-Jansen 1991:174; Sharma 2003:54).

Toys on wheels
Some birds and other animals, either moveable or not, display perforated bottoms or legs which imply that they by means of an axle-tree were to be put on wheels (Kenoyer 2000:132f; Sharma 2003:60f) (Figure 17). Such animals occur in later times too. Their shape appears quite characteristic for the subcontinent since they are not formed as vessels, which is commonly the case with similar animals on wheels in, for example, the Mesopotamian realm (Ardeleanu-Jansen 1993:184). Beside animals on wheels, there exist a variety of mini-sized carts on wheels; the reader may recall the classification of Classical Harappan cart frames found at the site at Harappa into eight main types (Kenoyer 2004). The carts are considered a Harappan hallmark, with the majority displaying either a solid or a perforated frame. Holes along the length of their

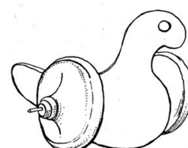


Figure 17. Harappan bird on wheels (after White 1971:Fig. 197).

upper sides were probably meant for holding vertical struts in the same way as is to be seen on full-sized carts in use today (Figure 18; see Figures 3 and 4 again). By means of a hole in their short side, a possibly wood-made shaft may have been fastened. Supposedly, the shaft ended in a yoke, perhaps to be attached to a pair of terracotta bullocks as is sometimes to be seen in reconstructions. In this connection, it may be mentioned that the wheels of the full-sized carts thought to have existed have been suggested to have joined the axle-tree so that they rotated as a single unit, as is the case with today's full-sized carts in Sindh (Kenoyer 2000:89; Sonawane *et al.* 2003:46; pers. comm., Ajithprasad 2004). Based on another sort of construction found on modern carts in Punjab, where the wheel in contrast rotates on an axle-tree which in turn is fixed to the frame, this idea is however also objected to (Kenoyer 2004:101).

Logically, wheels are prevalent too. They are of solid type and a number shows up with a hub for extra strength (e.g. Ratnagar 2001:56; Sharma 2003:73).



Figure 18. Full-sized cart used by a Sindi farmer in modern time (after Wheeler 1966:47).



Figure 19. Wheels and wheel fragments with hubs from Bagasra. Wheels such as these are supposed to have been attached to toy carts.

Discs, rattles and tops

Among the interpretations given to grounded potsherds or discs, one finds them recurrently as being referred to children's games of hopscotch (e.g. Artefact book of Bagasra excavations 1996-2004; as is to be seen, a large number are even labelled individually not as a disc but as hopscotch).[18] They appear in quite large quantities on most Harappan but also on non-Harappan sites (pers. comm., Shinde 2004). Yet another toy is the rattle in different shapes as well as the little top (Kenoyer 2000:130ff). The latter is considered a further Harappan characteristic, since it is only found in association with Harappan materials (pers. comm., Ajithprasad 2004).

'Elusive' toys

Objects of unknown shapes, or objects more elusive as to their function, may from time to time turn up within the toy sphere too (for toy-interpreted marbles and miniature vessels, for example, see Kenoyer 2000:133).

Proceeding a bit from the toy realm proper, one may for the sake of information add the sphere of gaming with its traceable remains of various dice, gamesmen as well as game boards (Kenoyer 2000:120f).

Toys of the same type appear in a variety of sizes and constitutions, clay qualities and clay tones, with or without slip, with or without painted pattern. Something worth stressing is that, firstly, not all types are found at all sites, but, secondly, that they all in general derive from settlements and thus are not to be connected with burials – the latter in any way and except for pottery and perhaps some personal ornaments displaying few grave goods while finds of burials and cemeteries within the Harappan realm on the whole are markedly few (McIntosh 2002:118f; Possehl 1996:158).

[18] For the broadened use of the term 'hopscotch' in this thesis, see 'Some key words and spellings' in the beginning.

…and at the site at Bagasra specifically

A large number of types described above are present in the Bagasra assemblage as well (Artefact book of Bagasra excavations 1996-2004):

Toys on wheels

As has already been mentioned, the various cart frame fragments appear both in the solid and the perforated shape (Sonawane *et al.* 2003:46). The differently sized wheels constitute partly the type given a hub. Traces of paint still to be seen on some of them display stripes radiating out of the centre. It is notable that they either are placed on the flat side or on the side with the hub (Figure 19). Other wheels appear solely as polished and perforated potsherds.

Tee-to-tums, discs and tops

The wheels made of potsherds are similar to and difficult to distinguish from a toy called tee-to-tum, which refers to the game with the same name. These are similarly grounded out of potsherds of usually quite light constitution and perforated for the little string to be pulled through (pers. comm., Ajithprasad 2004). In turn, except for their perforations, these are similar to the discs, of which there exist a good amount in various shapes and sizes. Tops with different appearances are also present, described as "/…/[having] a flat or slightly concave disc-like top and a thick, pointed knob at the bottom/…/[which] was very carefully made by fixing it with a thick blob of clay; whose weight helped the top to maintain momentum while spinning." (Sonawane *et al.* 2003:46).

'Elusive' toys

Items which may hang a little 'in between' the toy and the not-being-a-toy designation are represented by small, flat rings, small balls or marbles as well as by objects of more 'alien' appearance, sometimes labelled as toys and sometimes not (Artefact book of Bagasra excavations 1996-2004). The cluster of animal figurines may tentatively be put in this group too as they, out of caution, have not been specifically mentioned as toys (pers. comm., Ajithprasad 2004). They appear in different sizes and constitutions, some with painted pattern and most of them in the shape of bulls. An amount of these depict the typical prominent hump. A few of the bulls (all in phase II) resemble figurines found on other Harappan sites. One walks on limbs joined together in a similar way as on figurines found in the early Urban phase of Harappa while another displays the typical Harappan appliqué eyes. Others are perforated to be put on wheels and/or exhibit the typical hollow bodies, sometimes implying that their mostly missing heads, with a construction of strings, may have been of moveable constitution (Sonawane *et al.* 2003:47) (Figures 20 and 21).



Figure 20. A humped bull figurine from Bagasra. These and similar figurines may be supposed to have pulled toy carts.

Spatial and temporal appearance

As with the Harappan toys in general, the toy materials originate from all around the settlement. The items have not been found in any pits but, as is for example the case with wheels or discs, tend in general to appear in connection with habitation layers, adjacent to structural remains like floors. As for some objects, like a number of pottery discs, they seem to cluster two or more in close vicinity of each other (pers. comm., Ajithprasad 2004).

The majority of toy materials derive from phase II. Some examples appear already in phase I. A quite small amount belong to phase III, while they almost entirely disappear in phase IV. The Harappan hallmarks carts and tops and animal figurines of typical Harappan shapes are not prevalent in phase IV (Sonawane *et al.* 2003:46f; pers. comm., Ajithprasad 2004). It is for the moment not possible to conclude with certainty if some items from the other types may perhaps have derived from this phase.



Figure 21. Partly fragmented head of a bull from Bagasra with appliqué eyes.

5. Path of Working Process (guided by these 'all-around'-dotted things…)

…trust us…

Step 1 – Labelling and ordering of basics

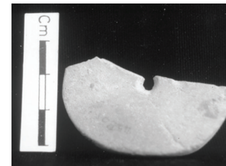


Figure 22. Illustrative example of objects elusive to distinguish: this item has been classified both as a wheel and a pottery disc. Similar objects may also be described as tee-to-tums.

While in India, it is too early for me to know what aspects of data will be the most useful. Since time will be too limited to develop the foundation, most of the toy interpreted material is taken into consideration. Artefacts are photographed and sketched, their form, colour, clay constitution, smoothness and others recorded, their various measurements taken, etc. The first data selection is therefore done without too many preconceptions and as open minded as possible. Only a few options are made: artefacts interpreted as toys but difficult to distinguish from each other, or from material suggested to belong to other classifications, are chosen not to be recorded. That is to say, tee-to-tum objects, which are not always easy to distinguish from the slightly heavier spindle whorl which is seen as a device for the spinning of threads, are for example not considered. Similarly, wheels without hub and made of potsherds and discs with perforation or with obvious, centre-located beginning of perforation are excluded as well (Figure 22).

However, two phenomena can almost immediately be distinguished which turn up as useful guides and underlying principles of the analysis. The first is the presence of the wall, described above, that divides the settlement at Bagasra and leads to questions in ongoing research concerning its purpose(es). Are there possible differences to be seen between the outside- and the inside areas, or between the areas of the inside as well as between the ones of the outside? This results in a spatial sorting of the objects following the four cardinal points and the objects' inside- or outside relation to the wall. The photographing and taking notes of each and every item is thus directed into a first system of order.

Out of this, 'area groups' take shape. These are given the following names (henceforth, only the abbreviations will be used) (Figure 23:App.; compare with Figure 12):

- **North of the Wall in the West (NWW)** – the northwest part of the area north of the wall.
- **North of the Wall in the East (NWE)** – the northeast part of the area north of the wall.
- **Inside NorthWest (INW)** – the northwest part of the area inside the wall, including parts of the wall.
- **Inside NorthEast (INE)** – the northeast part of the area inside the wall.
- **Inside West (IW)** – the western part of the area inside the wall.
- **Inside SouthEast (ISE)** – the southeast part of the area inside the wall, including inner parts of the wall.
- **Outside NorthWest (ONW)** – the northwest part of the area outside (south and southwest of) the wall.
- **Outside NorthEast (ONE)** – the northeast part of the area outside (south and southeast of) the wall, including outer parts of the southeast corner of the wall.
- **Outside Centre (OC)** – the central part of the area outside (south of) the wall.

- **Outside South (OS)** – the southern part of the area outside (south of) the wall.

The second phenomenon consists of the idea of a simultaneous presence of differences and similarities of various properties of objects belonging to the same type. With the perspective on social aspects in mind, these are seen as variations in quality. That is to say, translated into a more convenient label and avoiding all sorts of dangerous concepts speaking of 'value', a quality interpreted solely in terms of labour input. The idea of simultaneous differences and similarities seems particularly interesting when studying material within the realm of the Indus Civilization, since the traditional view of this sphere as remarkably uniform has repeatedly been put in focal point, challenged and revised by the various attempts in recent research to shift the focus towards cultural variability instead (e.g. Kenoyer 2000; Possehl 2002; Ratnagar 2002; Sonawane & Ajithprasad 1994). While keeping this notion in mind when looking at various features like measures, patterned decorations or surface shapes, it significantly influences the way of recording. The idea is first brought to light when, during the preliminary data collection, the assemblage of cart frame fragments are studied since these items appear to point at significant similarities. They are therefore chosen for closer study. This begins with a brief look at their total appearance:

Total appearance

Amount

In total, the cart frame fragments count 43. Since two pairs are found among these, the real amount of cart frames is reduced to 41 (except for these two pairs, every item has been concluded as representing a different cart frame). 26 are of solid type and 15 are perforated.

Size and form

Roughly concluded, the solid examples seem to fit into the approximate width measures of 30 – 45 mm. By use of the complete item and others probably constituting about half of their original size, it can be postulated that length sizes approximately would have ranged between 35 – 85 mm.

A projected rectangular form is exhibited with a width generally quite narrow in appearance. Some examples appear relatively wider. These also seem to be more finely cut and straight with corners of more even and sharp form.

Due to the fragmented preservation constitution, the sizes of the perforated cart frames becomes more difficult to evaluate. An approximation made from the larger pieces together with a consideration on their relatively thick appearance, compared to the solid types, may suggest them to be probably about the same size as the solid items or slightly larger.

Clay

All items (with 2 exceptions) seem to be of the same type of clay, quite light in colour.

All show a very fine firing.

Hole schemes

The holes have generally been punched through from the upper side and are generally seen passing through to the undersides.

Beginning with the solids, a schematic picture appears of hole distribution:

Each corner of the upper side displays a hole that may be suggested as for the purpose of holding up a vertical strut. Six smaller holes are placed opposite each other straight across the middle part of the long side of the upper side, two pairs on every side and one pair in the middle (a consideration on a possible function for these holes, which perhaps may not have been meant for holding vertical struts as they are not lining the upper side but stretching right across it, is to be read in the fourth part of Chapter 6, under *Details of construction*). Turning to

the sides, a single hole appears in the middle of one of the short sides. This, however, is not passing through the entire length of the cart frame but ends inside the object with a depth of about 5-10 mm (Figure 24; see Figure 1, right item, again).

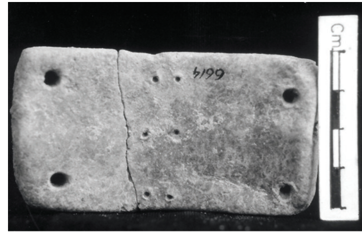


Figure 24. Hole scheme of the solid type as it is displayed by the single complete item. The shaft hole is indicated to the right.

This scheme naturally cannot be concluded with certainty for each and every fragment, not knowing the configuration of their lost parts. But - with the complete example being of profound use – all items (with 3 exceptions) could as far as their remaining parts can tell be supposed to fit into this picture. This conclusion rests too on the established interpretations and depicted reconstructions of toy carts from other Harappan sites. The hole that appears on the short side is therefore suggested here as being situated on the front side (for holding the shaft). This is partly based on the evidence shown by the complete example which only displays this hole on one of its short sides. It further rests on the common 'habit' within Harappan research of outfitting reconstructed cart models with a modern shaft, inserted in the short side hole and ending with a yoke that sometimes rests on the necks of two bullocks. This side of the cart frame thus becomes the front (compare with Figure 3).

A certain difficulty arises when trying to sort out a specific plotting of holes of the perforated items. Since no items are complete, it can only be suggested that the holes represent those traditionally interpreted as holding the struts. So far, then, the pieces fit into the general picture of the perforated type, which usually appear to display 8 or 12 holes, placed 4 or 6 in a row on each long side. The shaft hole, which on reconstructions appear to be punched through the middle frame too and in some cases even the back frame so the shaft becomes inserted through the entire length of the cart (Figure 25; compare with Figure 4), is only to be found, with some uncertainty, on one piece in the collection.

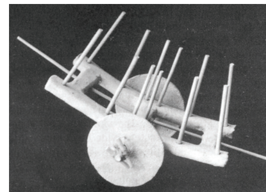


Figure 25. Reconstructed toy cart of perforated type, with a shaft going through the entire length of the frame (after Kenoyer 2000:Figure 5.17).

Having roughly gone through their general appearance, it would seem that a closer study of distribution patterns, according to established area groups, may constitute a suitable second step due to the outline of the preliminary recording of the items. The search is focused on the way they locate themselves at the site and whether similarities and/or differences are to be recognized. The distribution of items indeed comes up with a kind of pattern as certain clusters appear in specific areas:

Spatial distribution

The two areas north of the wall are excluded since these are not displaying any single cart frame fragment at all. The ISE and ONE areas are lying so close together that it is hard to note a distinction between them at all, making the border drawn between them quite artificial. However, the distinction is considered of importance since the locations cover one of the inside- and one of the outside areas, respectively. This will therefore be kept.

Most items occur in the IW area followed by the OS area. The solid cart frames mostly belong to these areas. The perforated items cluster mainly in the ISE and ONE areas (Table 2:App. and Figures 26:App. and 27:App.).

Based on the spatial pattern thus found, with its parallel existence of similarities and differences, it is chosen that the first sorting of data will start from the variable of slip and decorative patterning since this is relatively easy to distinguish (the term decorative patterning, henceforth simply shortened to the less value laden patterning, is preferred rather than 'painting' so that evidences of incisions can be included as well). The observations result in coded indicators such as 'painted squares', 'incised marks' etc. Soon, these can in turn be grouped into categories such as *not slipped and not patterned*, *slipped but not patterned* and others; that is, features that may speak of differences in labour input. These allow a sorting of the items into five groups. (A variation of slips in different colours but with quite equal thickness can be seen but no concern is taken to this. It is solely the existence of a slip that matters.)

A comparison of these groups with spatial distribution points at a tendency of pattern without, at the same time, exhibiting excessively marked distinctions.

Slip and patterning (s/p)

Groups

The cart frames divide themselves into the following groups (Table 3:App.):

A. Not slipped and not patterned (11 items)
B. Slipped but not patterned (13 items)
C. Possibly slipped but not patterned (6 items)
D. Not slipped but patterned (5 items)
E. Slipped and patterned (6 items)

(While group C consists of items unable to show with certainty whether covered with slip or not, this group constitutes a kind of subdivision to A and B groups.)

Group B consists of most objects. A relatively small number is in contrast found in groups D and E. The perforated cart frames are slightly more equally distributed into the different groups than the solids. Apart from this, the distribution of solids and perforated in the different groups is quite similar (Figure 28:App.).

The pattern of the objects of groups D and E (11 items) is generally to be found on the upper side. This is mostly painted in red colour. 7 items (with 1 item omitted due to too worn-out pattern), about equal amount of solids and perforated, display patterns of painted squares. 5 of these have their squares painted in red colour. Variations which single out some items occur simultaneously:

Among the red squared, 2 items have additional stripes painted on their sides and 1 item has red dots in its squares. The 2 items of squares not in red colour display squares in white and dark brown, respectively. Among the 3 items without squares, 1 display three stripes, two red and a brown in between, on each of its long sides and a kind of red-painted cross on its upper side. 2 items do not exhibit a painted but an incised pattern. The pattern



Figure 29. Examples of patterned items. Left: solid with red squares and a red dot in each square. Right: perforated with dark-brown squares (though difficult to distinguish on the photo).



Figure 30. Examples of patterned items. First left: perforated with red-painted cross. Third left: solid with white squares (though both difficult to distinguish on the photo).



Figure 31. Examples of patterned items. Left: long side of solid with red stripe. Right: perforated with incised marks.

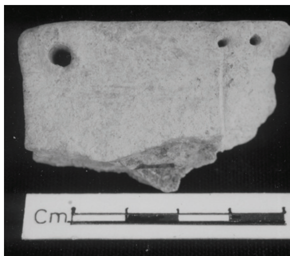


Figure 32. Example of patterned item: solid with incised pattern. The pattern occurs on what appears to be the underside of the object.

on one of these seems to show up not on the upper- but on the underside of the cart frame in question. It is doubted whether the 'pattern' on the other should better be described as marks (Table 4:App. and Figures 29, 30, 31 and 32).

Spatial distribution
Group A mostly appear in the IW area (5 items) and second most in the ONW area (4 items). The remaining 2 are found in the INE and ISE areas. Groups B and C turn up as quite spread out. Groups D and E are mostly found in the OS area (6 items) and second most in the IW area (3 items). The remaining 2 emerge in the INE and ONE areas. None of the items painted with red squares show up in the IW area (Figure 33:App.; see Table 4:App. again).

It can thus be concluded that cart frames displaying patterns are relatively few, and that these patterns appear to conform at the same time as significant variations occur. How may this conformity be understood and why are there so many variations? Why are no items with red square patterns showing up in the IW area? How come that none of the perforated cart frames in the ISE area produces any pattern whereas the OS area in contrast displays a particular clustering of patterned items?

The idea emerges of a possible existence of a kind of regulated differences, or, in other words, a schematic ordering of similarities. Internal variations, in some cases even tending to single out individual objects, may further be worth to take notice of.

It could therefore be of interest to see if these indications may be strengthened. Will a continuation of a regulated ordering and a further exhibition of internal variations show up? Will possible differences following the inside/outside division, not found this far, appear?

Reconsidering the data, looking for further indicators to compare these thoughts with, results in the choice of a variable almost as easy to distinguish as the former: hole sizes (according to diameter and not including shaft holes). Due to the different shapes of the solid and the perforated items, it becomes necessary to separate the two types from each other so that each approach will be adjusted to each shape.

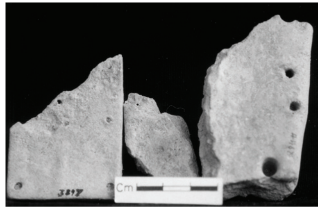
The analysis begins with the solid items. These indicate three different hole size relations. The items can therefore be divided into three groups. A comparison between these categories and the previous brings the sorting further by pointing at some relations of interest between characteristics of the variable of slip and patterning, or s/p, and hole sizes:

Hole sizes of solid type
(1 item omitted due to lack of holes)

Sizes
23 items (with 2 exceptions) display a big hole size of 5 or 3 mm (19 and 4 items, respectively) and/or a small hole size of 3 or 2 mm (8 and 6 items, respectively).

Hole size relations
Three groups of hole size relations can be established:

1. Big hole 5 – small hole 3 mm (8 items)
2. Big hole 5 – small hole 2 mm (4 items)
3. Big hole 3 – small hole 2 mm (2 items)


Figure 34. First left: solid item illustrating the more straight and even shape of hole size group 3.

14 items (with 1 exception and 10 items omitted due to lack of one of the hole categories) fit into either group 1, 2 or 3. It can at this moment be established that the items previously noted as appearing more finely cut and straight and relatively wider are those that belong to group 3 (Figure 34; for comparison with an item of hole size group 2, see Figure 1, left item, again).

Hole size relations related to s/p
In hole size group 3, no items from D and E groups appear. In hole size group 2, no items from A and B groups and only one item from group C can be seen. The 10 items lacking hole size relations all belong to groups A, B and, in one occasion, C (Table 5:App.).

Spatial distribution
Except for the spatial ordering that follows in line with the one for s/p groups, no regulated spatial distribution of particular significance can be established.

Coming this far, a further 'pattern of order' tentatively appears in the indicated hole size relations as well as in the connections between hole size relations and s/p groups. The observation that the items of group 3 constitute those objects that distinguishes themselves by appearing more sharp and wider than the majority of cart frames, may be noted as well. What may this indicate?

Hole size of the perforated cart frames turn out to be quite quickly analysed:

<u>Hole size of perforated type</u>
(3 items omitted due to lack of holes)

Size
9 items (with 3 exceptions) point at 5 mm size for the single hole category displayed by the perforated type.

Hole size related to s/p
A comparison of hole size and s/p groups is considered unnecessary due to the conformity of the single hole size.

Spatial distribution
Spatial considerations turn unnecessary for the same reasons as mentioned above.

<u>Conceptual considerations of the first step</u>

A continuation of the proposed regulated ordering that display visible differences and similarities can be concluded. A sorting of the established but yet descriptive categories into more abstract characters seems by now of topicality.

Tentatively, the ordered character stands out as both clearly visible as well as quite elusive since it does not follow all too clear divisions which, for example, would divide the items into two halves. The picture could at a first glance appear confusing, almost superior. In

an attempt to grasp this, a particular notion of *aspects* emphasized by Asplund (1970) may therefore be fruitful. Asplund objects to what he calls sociology's satisfaction of collection of data and voluntary halt in front of 'the real' without asking for the meaning behind a particular phenomenon. With this, he questions the impossibility as well as the meaninglessness of a seeing without an accompanying interpretation and accentuates the overall problematic relation between the interpretative, creative ability and 'the reality'. In this connection, he puts attention to the concept of 'aspect' borrowed from Wittgenstein. Illustrating with abstract figures like a curved line which simultaneously could be caught as a snake or a plait, Asplund thus highlights the untenable idea of the ability to grasp all properties of a specific object of study within one and the same research model. In contrast, as he concludes, one has to make a choice of approach. That is, one has to choose an aspect of the object in question; to observe something *as* something. The choice of this thesis of a social perspective could hence be seen as a line of approach clearing a way past the confusion towards suitable search areas. Due to the heaps of problems surrounding the toy, the notion of aspects could thus indeed be stressed as a contributing support and underlying principle directing the forthcoming work as well.

Beginning with the *differences,* these probably point at a range of meanings. With the social perspective, however, they may in a first conceptual step be approached as forms of *symbolic capital* using the capital concept by Bourdieu. According to Carle (2003:376ff, 397ff), Bourdieu focuses on such phenomena as the social order and structure of power in society and the relation of the individual and the structural from a perspective of social stratification. He tries to understand how power structures in society, in spite of unequal distribution of influence, nevertheless seem to be reproduced unchanged. By use of the concept of economy in its broadest sense, he points at power in society obtained not only by economic capital but by various, both material and immaterial, assets transformed into specific values. These assets came to his awareness during his study of the behaviour patterns of the Algerian Kabyls, as he interpreted these as symbolic confirmations of the prevailing society structure. Partly departing from phenomenology's focus on society such as it reveals itself for the human in her ordinary life, these assets are searched for in the most ordinary (and commonly seen as trivial) phenomena, since the behaviour pattern of the ordinary is regarded by Bourdieu as the actual creator of a society's structure. He therefore, as Carle continues, finds these assets in such things as people's choice of living, of education, way of dressing, behaviour etc.; phenomena which become conceptualised into the term of symbolic capital. This constitutes an umbrella concept and can be separated into several different forms of capital. The main ones are symbolic, cultural, social and economic. They tell, in turn, about assets acquired via specific symbols and attributes, via education and mastering of 'proper' culture, through social contacts and, lastly, via money (in monetary systems). Symbolic capital is further understood as misrecognized capital; that is, it can only act if its 'true nature' is denied (Bourdieu 1990:118). By the concept of cultural capital, seen as a metaphor for symbolic values given concrete significances and thus useful as a tool, Bourdieu reaches the conclusion that a social distinction of society is regulated with taste. This is because one's choice expresses a particular taste that in turn expresses the life style of a specific social group and their social positions. While being collective in character, taste thus points at different capital assets available for different groups of society. The importance is therefore stressed of including taste distinctions when analysing relations of power positions. In this context, it is stressed that capital forms are given different symbolic values according to social positions. When one moves to another social position, these may therefore transform into other values (Carle 2003:397ff, 405ff).

Suggested as taste distinctions, the differences may further be discussed according to *cultural mechanisms*, emphasized among others by Choksi (2002) in her claim that a majority of studies on Harappan pottery still approaches from the traditional, typological point of view, whereby the pottery's research potential is not fully exploited. An alternative perspective is therefore proposed in which the importance of the social significance of pottery is stressed. Ending in a demand for an ethnographic emphasis when studying archaeological assemblages to fully apprehend the social complexity of the manufacture and usage of pottery, she points to

the importance of taking into study the entire notion of culture. In her claim therefore of a contextual approach following the outlines of Hodder, Shanks and Tilley (e.g. Hodder 1997), she points among others to the frequently overlooked existence of regional variability in pottery shapes. This existence implies a presence of cultural mechanisms, whose function is to prevent a fusion of styles and ensure regional variability (Choksi 2002:273ff).

When discussing the cart frames from the *similarities*' point of view, a second concept by Bourdieu may be suitable. Continuing further with the concept of taste, this is according to Carle (2003:385f) claimed by Bourdieu as a useful instrument in a social theory about the *reproduction* of the structure of society. This, as Bourdieu continues, is because the transmission of 'proper' symbolic values is central for the control of reproduction of social positions and thus, in turn, of the structure of society. In this, the educational system constitutes a key role. It is suggested as an instrument for the middle class (in French society of today) to control the reproduction of social positions through its emphasis, above all, on cultural capital and transmission of 'proper' symbolic values between, for instance, teacher and pupil. Though focusing on a specific society, the concept may tentatively become of general character by the assertion by Bourdieu that the educational system contributes "/…/to reproduce the distribution of the cultural capital and thus as well to reproduce the structure of the social room." (Bourdieu 1999:31, *my translation*). The concept is thus decided useful for this study. Avoiding a boring recurrence, a further exploration of the concept is found in the following discussion.

Step 2 – Formulating concepts

With the conceptualising refinement of the idea of differences and similarities, these may by now appear as quite stiff and clumsy categories. Rather, one could think about separating them into smaller divisions on the basis of the ordered pattern and the visible variations. This idea thus guides a third sampling. The analysis of new sets of data will as well be accompanied by some 'newborn' thoughts arisen which possibly could become further concepts of use, dealing with a slight uncertainty or divergence noted between a singling out of individual objects versus the appearance of more collectively and regularly characterized variations. It will also be considered within this second step whether a partition of s/p groups and a difference in spatial distribution can be strengthened and an insight into the subtle properties can be deepened.

The next sampling of data is therefore focused on the possibility of describing the already established and the still emerging concepts in more detail. State of variations between them will be analysed as well.

After the analysis of hole sizes, next option falls upon thickness and width measures. These too belonged to those features which indicated the existence of differences and similarities in the beginning. A separated study of the solids and the perforated is still preferred due to their divergent constitutions. Again, the analysis starts with the solids (thickness of long side and short side, measured in both cases approximately 5 mm from the corners). As with the previous variables, it turns out that the measure variable similarly offers the possibility to distinguish specific clusters to categorize:

Thickness of short and long sides of solid type
(4 items omitted due to lack of thickness measures)

Measures
19 items (with 3 exceptions) display short side measures of either 7, 8, 9 or 10 mm thickness and/or long side measures of either 7, 8, 9, 10 or 11 mm thickness. The most common short side- as well as long side thickness is 10 mm (8 items and 12 items respectively).

Thickness measure relations
Two thickness measure relations can be established:
1. Same thickness for both short and long sides (7 items)
2. Short side being 2 mm less thick than long side (4 items)

11 items or 50 % (with 4 exceptions and 7 items omitted due to lack of one of the measures) fit into either group 1 or 2.

Thickness measure relations related to s/p
The items of the measure groups 1 and 2 distribute themselves into the s/p groups as follows (Table 6:App.):
4 items into group B (3 items of group 1, 1 item of group 2)
3 items into group E (2 items of group 1, 1 item of group 2)
2 items into group D (1 item of each group)
1 item into group C (of group 1)
1 item into group A (of group 2)

Considering the few solid items in groups D and E, the abundance of items of these groups depicting thickness relations appear relatively higher than the abundance of these items of group B.
A majority of items lacking one of the thickness measures (5 items) belongs to groups A and B.

Thickness measures related to hole sizes
Items with short- and/or long side of 10 mm thickness mainly display big hole size of 5 mm while items with short- and/or long side of 7 mm thickness show big hole size of 3 mm (Table 7:App.).
A comparison of thickness measure relations with hole size relations is considered unnecessary due to the conclusions already made.

Spatial distribution
Except for the spatial ordering that follows in line with the one for s/p groups, no regulated spatial distribution of particular significance can be established.

As is shown, a division appears that separates the s/p groups the more. It displays a gap between groups A and B and groups D and E as well as a marked divergence in their constitution of similarities/differences. Such separation may perhaps indicate that the not patterned examples have been given measures of lesser conformity than the patterned. The connection of items unable to show both thickness measures to either group A or B may in this context be considered as well. How, then, could such circumstance be interpreted?

Considering the measures of the perforated (width of upper side and thickness of long side) the items seem, at a first glance, to split away from each other. In a closer study, however, some features indeed turn specific clusters possible and even imply small, yet distinctive differences following spatial distribution:

Width of upper side and thickness of long side of perforated type
(2 items omitted due to lack of width/thickness measures)

Measures
Though the items display quite various measures, specific measures appear repeatedly. The items thus cluster into a specific width/thickness interval: 15 – 24 mm for width of upper side; 10 – 20 mm for thickness of long side.

Width/thickness measure relations

Two width/thickness measure relations can be established:

1. Same width/thickness for both upper side and long side (4 items)
2. Upper side being slightly wider than the thickness of long side (7 items)



Figure 35. Examples of the two width/thickness measure relations of perforated type. Left: item of measure group 1. Centre and right: items of measure group 2.

11 items (with 2 items omitted due to lack of one of the measures) fit into either group 1 or 2. The items of group 2 produce an overall wider impression than the ones of measure group 1. This impression tentatively give these items a more durable or stable look whereas the items of group 1 in contrast display a more finely cut appearance (Figure 35).

Width/thickness measures related to s/p

No relations of width/thickness measures and s/p groups of particular significance can be established.

Width/thickness measure relations related to hole size

The only relation of width/thickness measure groups and hole size that appear is that two of the three exceptions noted when considering hole size variable belong to group 1 (see more under 'The unique and the variations' below).

Spatial distribution

All items of measure group 1 (4 items) belong to areas inside the wall (Figure 36:App.).

A difference between the solid and the perforated types can by now be suggested. The solid type displays a more clearly visible order than the perforated. The relation of upper and long side of group 2 of the perforated type cannot be measurably established in the same, exact way as the 2 mm relation of group 2 of the solid type. The 'chain of connection' that can be established through the s/p-, hole size- and thickness measure variables of the solid type is furthermore not to be seen among the perforated items. Though continuing exceptions to viewable orders and established relations have turned up under way, a dealing with a more understandable separation of individual objects and unique properties from more regular variations is however yet to be done. But first, the idea of visible connections will be considered a bit more.

Recalling that solid items unable to show hole size relations and/or thickness measure relations mainly appear in s/p groups A and B, a thought arises whether possible connections even may appear within state of preservation. Some significant features of similarity of this 'property' were in fact noted already in the first sorting and photographing stage of analysis. This is therefore decided as an interesting variable in the next sampling of data (size and constitution). The separation of solid and perforated cart frames will continue due to difference in shape. The solids are first taken under closer study. They are coded into four size groups and compared with the previously established clusters. To a certain degree, these codings indeed follow in line with the established pattern since they point to the same division as described above. The constitution, finally, produce an unexpected picture: an overwhelming majority of items turns out to originate from the same part of the cart frame.

<u>State of preservation of solid type</u>

Size
Four sizes can be established:

- Large (13 items)
- Medium (6 items)
- Small (5 items)
- Fragmented (2 items)

This gives that 50 % of the totality can be concluded as large-sized.

Size related to s/p
A majority of large items appears in groups B, D and E (6 items, 2 items and 3 items respectively) (Table 8:App.). Considering the few solid items in groups D and E, the abundance of large sized items of these groups appear relatively higher than the abundance of these items of group B.
A majority of the smaller sized (Small and Fragmented) items (4 items) appears in group A.

Size related to hole sizes
No relations of size and hole sizes of particular significance can be established.

Size related to thickness measures
No relations of size and thickness measures of particular significance can be established.

Constitution
(2 items omitted due to being too fragmented in shape)
The items can be sorted according to following parts of the cart frame:

- Complete (1 item)
- Total short side (8 items)
- Corner of short side (11 items)
- Part of short side without corners (3 items)
- Part of middle part (3 items)

(Number of items count 26 instead of 24 since the two 'pairs' which exist in the assemblage both present a middle piece and a corner piece each.)
The single complete item consists in fact of two pieces glued together (see Figure 24 again). It therefore seems that it originally was found broken in two.

A shaft hole or trace of a shaft hole is present on 18 items:

- Complete: 1 item
- Total short side: 7 items
- Corner of short side: 8 items
- Part of short side without corners: 2 items

If presuming the shaft hole to be placed on the front side of the solid cart frame, most items thus originate from this side. Most corner items (7 of 11, with 3 items omitted due to being unable to tell) in addition display right-sided corners. Only 1 item appears as left-sided.

Constitution related to s/p
No relations of constitution and s/p groups of particular significance can be established.

Constitution related to hole sizes
No relations of constitution and hole sizes of particular significance can be established.

Constitution related to thickness measures
No relations of constitution and thickness measures of particular significance can be established.

Spatial distribution
No regulated spatial distribution of particular significance can be established.

A regulated order and a sharpening of earlier divisions are thus to be found within this variable as well. The number of front sides and the majority of right sided corners further rise intriguing questions to be dealt with later on.

Only a few divisions appear among the perforated cart frames. The items can be sorted into a few categories of constitution but there is no indication of internal grouping or connection to previous groups:

<u>State of preservation of perforated type</u>

Size
All items display an about that much similar size that any groupings are considered unnecessary. In terms of the ability to reconstruct (in one's mind) the whole cart frame out of the piece at hand, they may all be concluded as rather small.

Size related to s/p
A comparison of size and s/p groups is considered unnecessary due to the similar size of the items.

Size related to hole size
A comparison of size and hole size is considered unnecessary due to the similar size of the items.

Size related to width/thickness measures
A comparison of size and width/thickness measures is considered unnecessary due to the similar size of the items.

Constitution
The items can be sorted as follows:

- Displaying traces of angle/angles (7 items)
- Lacking traces of angle/angles (6 items)
- Corner (1 item)
- Upward turned point (1 item)

Based on the features to be seen on a reconstructed cart frame, the item with the constitution of upward turned point may be suggested to represent one of two upward curved back- or possibly front ends of the cart frame (Figures 37 and 38). The item could perhaps alternatively be connected to one of the types of cart models suggested by Kenoyer in his classification of the Harappan carts, the 'cart with two-parted frame' (Kenoyer 2004:102 and Figure 12, *my translation of type label*).
As previously mentioned, only 1 item depicts a hole that resembles a shaft hole. It may therefore be suggested as either constituting a front or middle frame or, if the cart frame in

question would have been constructed with a shaft hole passing through the total length of the cart frame, a back frame (since both ends of the item indicate angles going in two directions, the hole can be concluded as not situated on any of the long sides as some kind of axle-tree hole) (Figure 39).

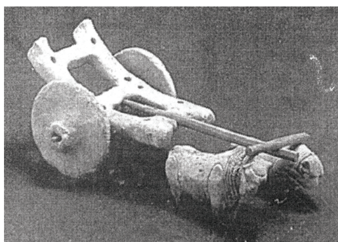


Figure 37. Reconstructed toy cart displaying upward curved back ends (after Saeed 1998:28).



Figure 38. Item of perforated type showing an upward turned point.



Figure 39. Item of perforated type with possible shaft hole.

Constitution related to s/p
A comparison of constitution and s/p groups is considered unnecessary due to the similar constitution of the items.

Constitution related to hole size
A comparison of constitution and hole size is considered unnecessary due to the similar constitution of the items.

Constitution related to width/thickness measures
A comparison of constitution and width/thickness measures is considered unnecessary due to the similar constitution of the items.

Spatial distribution
Spatial distribution is considered unnecessary due to the similarity of sizes and constitutions, respectively, of the items.

The apparent lack of items with shaft holes and thus of fragments not originating from the sides of the cart frame but from its middle parts, or the lack of items displaying back- or front ends more clearly may be noted. Why is only one possible shaft hole displayed? One explanation is maybe the logical distribution of different parts in which a majority of items ought to constitute long side parts. However, this does not explain the striking amount of front pieces appearing among the solid objects. The relatively small size of the perforated items in comparison with the solids may probably be understood in light of the shape of the former,

being both more fragile and certainly more difficult to reconstruct when broken in pieces. Other explanations seem possible though, maybe more socially embedded.

Considering the connection between variables previously accounted for, this can accordingly, in case of the solid items, be seen to continue into the preservation property too. In contrast, the lack of connection noted among the perforated is further found within state of preservation. The divergence suggested for the two cart frame types in this aspect can thus be seen to continue.

To complicate the picture, one may suggest it essential by now, before leaving the second step, to consider more thoroughly the items which throughout the variables have been mentioned as exceptions. In this context it may further be of importance to study the kind of more regulated variations displayed by the analysis and thus, hopefully, be able to distinguish in a comprehensive way the difference between these two categories. This, as it turns out, will result in a more clearly defined distinction of their specific qualities:

Unique features and variations

Presentation and number of unique items of solid type

Unique items appear in almost every chosen variable (mentioned as exceptions). They will briefly be reconsidered in detail:

- Total appearance – clay: 2 items with a larger contribution of red clay. Hole scheme: 2 items depicting a scheme that would not fit into the picture of six small holes placed in parallel rows straight across the middle part of the frame (see Figures 29 and 30 again, left item and first item from the right, respectively). 1 item exhibiting a somewhat unclear scheme that not seems to fit into the picture of six small holes and, additionally, shows traces of an oddly placed big hole. Alternatively, the item indeed fits into the scheme, in that case though indicating a strangely wide appearance (see Figure 34 again, first item from the right).
- Spatial distribution – no unique items mentioned.
- Slip/patterning –though the particular separation may be a bit elusive, 3 patterned items may nevertheless be suggested: 1 item with dots in its red squares; 1 item painted with white squares; 1 item patterned with incisions (since it differs from the incisions of the perforated item), and displaying this pattern on what appears to be the underside of the item.
- Hole sizes – 1 item of its own hole size relation: big hole 7 – small hole 4 mm (see Figure 34 again, first item to the right); 1 item with a small hole size of 4 mm.
- Thickness – 4 items of their own thickness measure relations: short side 12 – long side 11 mm; short side 10 – long side 9 mm; short side 8 – long side 12 mm; short side 7 – long side 8 mm. 1 item (of thickness measure group 2) with long sides of different thickness measures (the thickest side is 12 mm; see Figure 29 again, left item). 4 items (among those items with one measure only) with their own short- or long side thickness measures: long side 14 mm; short side 12 mm; long side 6mm; long side 10 mm (this item is not mentioned as exception when focusing on measures only. But since it belongs to hole size group 3, its long side thickness turns up as exception).
- Preserved pieces – 1 item with complete shape.

As is illustrated by the recurrent reference to, for example, the left item of Figure 29, some items turn up as unique in more than one variable. Thus, the totality of 20 items mentioned here count in reality only 13 while 5 objects occur more than once.

Presentation and number of unique items of perforated type

Unique items appear in some of the chosen variables. A brief reconsideration looks as follows:

- Total appearance – no unique items mentioned.
- Spatial distribution – no unique items mentioned.
- Slip/patterning – despite the elusiveness, 2 items may be mentioned: 1 item with painted pattern not made up of squares (with reservation for the item with a red pattern far too blurred to be concluded as either squared or not squared) and displaying two colours; 1 item with incised marks.
- Hole size – 1 item with a hole size of 7 mm; 2 items with a hole size of 4 mm (since one of these latter is the one that displays the constitution of the upward turned point and therefore is suggested as a back- or front piece or part of a specific cart type, both of these items could possibly at the same time better be seen as just constituting another detail of the cart frame or part of another kind of model).
- Width/thickness – no unique items mentioned.
- Preserved pieces – no unique items mentioned.

Only one item occurs in more than one variable; the mentioned 5 items thus in reality constitute 4.

Unique items of solid type related to s/p
When considering the variable of s/p, all unique items belong to s/p groups D and E (which is quite naturally as it is in their pattern that their uniqueness becomes expressed).
When considering the variables of hole sizes and thickness measures, all but 2 unique items belong to A and B groups.

Unique items of perforated type related to s/p
When considering the variable s/p, all unique items belong to s/p group E. When considering the variable of hole size, 1 unique item belong to group C, 1 item belong to group D and 1 item belong to group E.

Unique items of both solid and perforated type related to hole size(s)
No relations of unique features and hole size(s) of particular significance can be established.

Unique items of solid type related to thickness measures
No relations of unique features and thickness measures of particular significance can be established.

Unique items of perforated type related to width/thickness measures
2 of the items with unique hole sizes (7 mm and 4 mm, respectively) belong to the 4 items of width/thickness measure group 1.

Unique items of both solid and perforated type related to state of preservation
No relations of unique features and state of preservation of particular significance can be established.

Spatial distribution
The 17 items considered as unique distribute themselves as follows:

- INW: 0 items
- INE: 1 item (1 solid)
- IW: 9 items (8 solids, 1 perforated)
- ISE: 1 item (1 perforated)
- ONW: 0 items
- ONE: 1 item (1 perforated)

- OC: 1 item (1 solid)
- OS: 4 items (3 solids, 1 perforated)

A majority of items appear in either the IW- or the OS area.
At the same time, the unique items of the ISE and ONE areas may be questioned since these consist of the perforated objects displaying a hole size of 4 mm (suggested above as possibly representing specific details of the cart frame or a specific type of model).

Presentation of variations
For various reasons, 3 clusters of regulated variation (rather than groups proper) may be suggested:

1. Width/thickness group 1 of perforated type – while half of the items of this group (2 of 4) show up with odd hole sizes, this group may better be regarded as a sort of variation.
2. Hole size group 3 of solid type – since this relatively small group represents items of a somewhat different general appearance as well, this may be proposed as some kind of variation rather than a group in the way the other hole size relations form into groups. This may further be strengthened by the fact that its two items both belong to the area containing most of unique features, the IW area. In addition, one of the two other items also displaying a big hole size of 3 mm belong to the adjacent INW area.
3. S/p groups D and E (and B?) regarding both the solid and perforated type – rather than singling out unique items, it would perhaps, as already touched upon, be more fruitful to consider the totality of patterned items. The entire assemblage could thus be suggested as a variation, a framework for internal differences. If taking into account the number of variations of slip, the slipped items may perhaps be included too, turning the scope of variation even wider.

With the incorporation of the unique features, the separation of the different s/p groups becomes strengthened when considering the solid items. Simultaneously, therefore, the difference between the solid and the perforated examples becomes sharpened. Considering in contrast the possible similarity of the two types when it comes to spatial distribution, two areas are seen to be put in front – significantly, one on the inside and one on the outside – as especially well equipped with unique objects.

Conceptual considerations of the second step

It can be concluded that the recognition of ordered regulations has become strengthened through its repetition throughout the variables and thus continues to shape the particular pattern character. With a sharpened divergence in spatial distribution and the amounts of similarities/differences attributed to different variables, as well as to the two types of cart frames, the pattern becomes more distinct.

As is touched upon regarding the item depicting the upward turned point, the divergences, differences and unique properties could of course be discussed in terms of a possible existence of different types of models similar to the cart classification suggested by Kenoyer (2004). Such an approach would certainly be inspiring to follow. This would require larger amounts of material though, as well as preferably some more items of better state of preservation which at the moment is not possible to obtain.

Implying the existence of different types of cart models or not, one may however suggest it possible to part the notion of differences and similarities into more useful terms by now. Specific main categories can thus be distinguished and labelled. At first, there are the *similarities* and the *differences*. To avoid these being displayed as too simplified contrasts and be able to grasp the simultaneous existence of them, a further main category can be suggested to

be labelled as *similarities sharpened by differences* or, inversely, *differences sharpened by similarities*. As has been shown, these concepts have repeatedly been illustrated by the analysed variables. Tentatively, they encompass the subtle quality of the pattern, whereas the term of 'sharpened by' signifies relations between the similarities and the differences. The main idea of differences and similarities may further be parted into three subdivisions which concern the regulated pattern, the regulated variations, as well as the unique features. These may be labelled as *ordered similarities*, *ordered variations* and *anomalies*. Next, it would preferably be suitable to try to better anchor these quite free-floating concepts and analyse what conceptualisations could bring according to a more general idea. First and foremost, one could accentuate the simultaneity of differences and similarities as essential in avoiding simplified interpretations of the concept of *ordered similarities* in terms of social differentiations, power structures or the like composed of asymmetrical, closed entities. Therefore, this simultaneity may be grasped with the *micropower* by Foucault (2003). While focusing on how the self came to reflect upon itself or, in other words, how the human emerged as a subject (which has to be understood as threefold: acting itself, subordinate to a specific order as well as an object of empirical observation) during the Enlightenment period of Western culture, Foucault aims according to Lindgren (2003:347ff) at showing how seemingly natural and universal forms of knowledge and power relations actually came into being through specific historical changes. The creation of the subject is highlighted as dependant on a specific form of knowledge and a specific form of power which in turn are dependant on each other for their existence. Power is therefore accentuated by Foucault (2003:28ff, 203ff) as a strategy that cannot be torn into separateness but flows as an immanent force through society. Not constituted by violence and suppression, it rather exists through ongoing, simultaneously working networks of tense relations, by a regulating of so-called fields of action of the body and by support and spread through the body's subduing that is attained by a combined knowledge-control of it. It thus cannot be 'possessed' but exists in its practice, executed by strategies and mechanisms as a combined result of prevailing, strategic positions, in turn embodying and maintaining social structure. With this, it becomes senseless to discuss whether one is 'in charge' of power; power turns anonymous, made efficient by those which it is simultaneously applied on. While outlining his power concept by studying the emergence of the institutionalised prison, Foucault accordingly emphasizes that power studies should be focused not on possible motifs of a particular elite, but on its mechanisms, practices and effects on the level of the subordinated, those being exposed to the power.

Some scholars have criticised Foucault's outline of the modern human's emergence as too rigidly connected to the Enlightenment period (Lindgren 2003:368f). Partly agreeing with the critics and, above all, putting emphasis on his notion of power as a force of essential character, his concept is concluded useful for this study, in particular in regard to its specific focus on toy materials since this is to be connected to children, that is, one of those subordinated groups where these kinds of power relations should be visible. The relation between knowledge and power will therefore be used for a conceptualised interpretation of the simultaneous differences and similarities of the cart frames.

Adding a further notion by Bourdieu of a specific *freedom* that forms the ground for the reproduction of the social conditions, the subtle character of the ordering interpreted by the power concept is being dealt with. According to Carle (2003:396f), Bourdieu argues that the transmission leads to this freedom when enough is being acquired. The freedom is therefore only achieved after long duration of submission. This idea is outlined in an analysis of people's behaviours when visiting art galleries. By interpreting art experiences as a search for and understanding of symbols, Bourdieu points out how social groups possessing the proper cultural capital, despite considering themselves as totally free-minded, interpret art solely according to opinions resulting from rigorous transmission through education.

The notion of the subtle character and the discussion of freedom are applied on the concept established here of *ordered variations*. As this ends up in pointing at the very management of the objects, the focus shifts to the role of the cart frame itself in the play of social positions. This partaking of the material may turn the focus towards parts of the theory of *microarchaeology*

by Cornell and Fahlander (2002a; Fahlander 2003). This theory questions the validity in post-modern archaeology's search for a contextual whole that strives towards the concept of 'understanding' of a particular past, due to among other things the impossibility to fully encompass this context which therefore leads to a simplified reconstruction. Aiming at forming an operative, social theory for archaeology, microarchaeology is rather directed towards (executed) structurating or serial practices by tracing material remains of action. The empiric material comes therefore in first hand of consideration, later to be related to other contemporary or modern practices. By focusing on a search for actions, there will accordingly be no need, Cornell and Fahlander (2002a) argue, to bind the study into given entities. The idea of a 'contextual whole' thus turns rather meaningless, while at the same time the need for homogenous social systems and pre-defined social entities, such as culture or ethnic group, is eliminated. Making the aim of executed practice reachable to archaeological research, concepts and ideas are borrowed from various philosophical and theoretical schools. Among the most influential are for example the structuration theory of Giddens, the theory by Sartre of serial collectivity and parts of the psychoanalysis of Lacan (for a deepened discussion on these, see Fahlander 2003). This study particularly focuses on microarchaeology's emphasis on the social dimension of things, a growing field of research in social theory also to be found in archaeology (e.g. Andrén 1997; Cornell & Fahlander 2002b). This concept is used to break with, and expand, the limited role given by post-processual archaeology to materialities, where only the symbolic function of things is considered (Fahlander 2003:58). Within this concept the fact is highlighted that social actors not necessarily must be constituted by humans only but by environmental aspects and objects as well. The theory of Sartre of serial collectivity or serial action forms one of the central elements. Sartre points to day-to-day activities as a process of social integration involving an amount of various social factors where materialities is stressed as an integrated part, interacting dialectically with human action which turns the traditional black-and-white picture of humans as either autonomously acting or as subjugated to structural forces untenable. With a focus on performed, daily practices, the border between the human- and the non-human sphere thus becomes elusive since practices form in relation to materialities (Sartre according to Cornell & Fahlander 2002a:21ff). One example is the bus for which a specific cluster of people, as part of their daily practices, wait for; the various properties of the bus, like its speed or its size, are essential for the constitution of these practices (Fahlander 2003:34f). To the outline of Sartre is among others the concept of *actants* in the network theory of Latour added. While rejecting the traditional gap between sociological and technological dimensions, with its consequent parting between a social superstructure and a material infrastructure, Latour suggests in contrast the idea of social relations as chains constituted by both human and non-human actants that form various operational networks. The actants may for example act as prolonged arms of human beings or as enabling or constraining specific actions (Latour according to Fahlander 2003:59). An illustrative example pointed to by Cornell and Fahlander (2002a:22f) is the door that may be opened either by the action of turning the doorknob or by installed sensors. In another example, they point to the suggestion by Foucault of the 16th century's existence of leprosariums as more or less contributing to the emergence of the 'mad' as a distinguished category. As is stressed by Fahlander, the focal point of the social dimension of things is consequently its opening up for the potentiality of most materialities, to a larger or lesser degree, to constitute active partakers in social events. With the interaction of daily practices as outlined by Sartre, materialities thus always take part in social practices. Archaeology must therefore, accordingly, consider material remains in light of this potentiality (Fahlander 2003:59). According to Cornell and Fahlander (2002a:24f), Sartre emphasizes the collective, repetitive and generally semi- or unconscious character of daily practices which therefore tend to follow a repetitive pattern. Thanks to this, they argue, these become traceable for archaeology. The rather momentary, repetitive practices are further suggested to be seen as clustered into serial categories to turn the concept the more fruitful for archaeology (Fahlander 2003:34).

With a notion by Foucault of the complexity of the power relations since these are performed at different levels of society (Foucault 2003:32, 218), suggested here to be illustrated by the ordered but subtle pattern, the pointing by microarchaeology to the serial part of Sartre's concept turns in focus. According to Cornell and Fahlander (2002a:21, 24f), the focus on serial practices actually eliminates homogenous entities since in the collective character of daily activities' patterns the participants not constitute groups proper. While sharing the pattern of a specific activity, like, using the same example, waiting at the bus stop for the bus to come, the participants have nothing else in common that would bind them together. Therefore, as Cornell and Fahlander point out, Sartre prefers the term series, while he defines the group as something rather consciously organised. This consequently contributes to the opening up of closed social structures which is being strived for. In this context, the term social categories is thus suggested to become replaced by serial categories (Fahlander 2003:34).

With the use of the *series* concept and the recognition of a more open system, the ordered variations are once more put in focus by use of a further statement by Choksi (2002:280ff). In her demand for a social approach on pottery, she pictures the development of archaeological thinking with help of a three-step model presented by Van der Leeuw. The second step points to the recognition of a relationship between the typologized artefacts and the people behind them. According to Choksi, Van der Leeuw claims that an important contribution of this step is the distinctions of different dimensions in the research work. For an understanding of pottery variations, he points to the necessity to distinguish between the perspectives of the maker, the trader and the user. Also essential is the parting between, for example, the technological, social, political and communication components of the variations. Reaching the third step, he accordingly concludes the viewable patterns to be recognized as anchored in a larger conceptual world. It is therefore essential, Choksi claims, to emphasize the relation between the potter, seen as a sub-system, and the culture, the larger system which embraces the sub-system, for a better understanding of the complexity existent behind the style and technique of the pottery.

Some considerations on *anomalies* are being dealt with by starting from some notions on these phenomena by Fahlander (2003). More on this is to be read in the discussion.

As becomes obvious, the conceptualisation has through the use of Foucault's power concept, the microarchaeological statements and the outlines by Choksi come close to the endlessly debated question of the individual versus the structure. Not going too deep into this question, which would take the whole analysis a bit out of its frames for the moment, it may nevertheless be suggested to form into yet another main category, on a distinctly abstract level and thus with the ability to put the basic term of the simultaneity of differences and similarities into a markedly conceptualised light. Some reflections on this question will be further dealt with in the deepened discussion.

Step 3 – Searching for dynamics

A specific pattern with specific main paths has begun to be outlined. But have the categories become satisfactorily saturated? Is not the pattern yet but a descriptive map?

In search for a pulse of dynamic, I decide to turn to a new group of toy material: the discs. As a consequence of the assumption of them as belonging to children's game of hopscotch, they are generally thought of as grounded by children (pers. comm., Ajithprasad 2004). One could therefore choose to see them as representations of the world of children. Thus, it would be of significant interest to analyse them after having concentrated on the cart frames, viewed as rather adult-made. Would, once again, a particular pattern emerge? Could such at all be expected from items created by children? What happens when putting together a possible pattern exhibited by the discs with the pattern made up of cart frames?

The search is therefore to be directed by the already established concepts and main categories to look for data which will possibly fit into them and hence will broaden and deepen

their existence and point to relations connecting them. The analysis will, at least in general, follow a similar working process as developed in the previous, consisting of a continuing comparison with previous variables and an observance on possible divergences in the end.

Thus, two parallel 'rooms' will be handled simultaneously: one for the ordering of the discs, another for a further consideration on the pattern already established. An extra headline will therefore be added in the presentation of the results of the chosen variables, giving some notes of comparison between the two types of items.

Total appearance

Amount

The discs count 60 in total.

Size, shape and surface appearance

The diameter of the discs ranges between 20 – 70 mm approximately. The interval of the brim thickness is about 4 – 14 mm (see more on this below).
Considerable variations appear in their quite circular shape. The brims range in condition from regular to irregular. All items (with 7 exceptions) are made from potsherds covered with slip, mostly in one colour that differs significantly from one disc to another. The slip covers parts of or the entire upper side. On some objects, traces of painted pattern like clearly visible stripes occur.
Some items repeatedly display one or more 'particular features'. These consist of: an area in the middle of the upper side where the slip appears to be worn out or polished away; possible beginnings of perforations although not necessarily placed in the centre; exceptional brim conditions like unusual sharpness or markedly rounded, smoothened appearance.

Clay

All items (with 4 exceptions) display similar clay, very light in colour.
All point to a very fine firing.

Comparison with cart frames

The clay of the discs appears more fine and more light in colour than the clay of the cart frames.

Like in the previous data selections, a glance at spatial distribution seems a logic second step to take. This results in some vague indications of differences and similarities, both when considered mutually and in comparison with the cart frames:

Spatial distribution

Areas

The INW area is excluded since this is not displaying any discs at all.
The distinction between the ISE and ONE areas may once more seem somewhat blurred, but, again, is preferred to be kept because of the presence of the wall.
The largest clusters of discs appear in the OS area followed by the IW area (Figures 40:App. and 41:App.).

Comparison with cart frames

Different from the cart frames, the discs appear spatially more spread out. They occur for example north of the wall as well and they are not so clustered in the corner of the ISE area as the cart frames.

Simultaneously, both cart frames and discs point to the IW and OS areas as the densest clustered, although most of the discs not appear in the IW area like the cart frames but in the OS area. In addition, a considerable number of discs also originate in the INE area. The ISE area accordingly turns up with a relatively small number of both cart frames and discs.

In an attempt to deeper ground these vague directions, a variable focusing on geometrical shape is selected for the first sorting. This is because this appears relatively well marked and thus easy to distinguish. Contrary to the cart frames, slip/patterning is not considered a suitable quality to consider since the discs have been manufactured from potsherds, turning this to a somewhat unstable or clumsy variable to begin with.

The sorting is further guided by questions as to whether there really will turn up a significant ordering of regulated differences and similarities and if these in such case will be ordered spatially as well. Will they, moreover, display similarities with the established pattern? Indicators of the shape variable point out some distinct features which can be coded into categories named for example *circular-irregular*, *egg form* etc. With this, 10 different shape groups can be established. The sorting rests mainly on a principle of 'halves': large amounts of objects display a brim whose one half differs from the other half. A sort of 'special feature' is additionally noted on the brim of a considerable number of discs in the form of two oppositely placed 'bulges'.

Geometrical shape

Groups

The discs divide themselves into the following groups (Table 9:App.):

1. Circular (13 items)
2. Circular-irregular (12 items)
3. Irregular (9 items)
4. Circular-edges (7 items)
5. Circular with edge-edges (5 items)
6. Almost circular (4 items)
7. Circular with edge-irregular (2 items)
8. Circular with two edges (2 items)
9. Egg shape (2 items)
10. Rectangular shape (2 items)

Each group can be shortly commented as follows:

1. Items of a clearly circular shape.
2. Items of a half circular, half irregular shape.
3. Items of an irregular shape.
4. Items of a half circular shape with the other half consisting of edges mostly counting 2 or 3.
5. Items of a half circular shape with 1 edge and the other half consisting of edges mostly counting 3.
6. Items not totally circular, not irregular as well as not constituted of the 'halves'-principle.
7. Items of a half circular shape with 1 edge and the other half consisting of irregular shape.
8. Items of a circular shape but with 2 separate edges.
9. Items of an egg-like shape.
10. Items of a rectangular-like shape.

(The items of group 10 differ somewhat in their rectangular shapes: while one of the two objects displays 3 straight sides and 1 irregular, the other displays 4 straight sides with rounded corners.)

58 items (with 2 exceptions) fit into these groups. The circular shaped is the biggest group. It is followed by items consisting of one circular and one irregular side.
It is notable that the items of group 8 display an identical constitution and distribution of the two edges (Figures 42, 43 and 44).



Figure 42. Examples of geometrical shape of discs. Back row from left: shape group 8; shape group 1; shape group 9. Front row from left: shape group 4; shape group 1; shape group 1. Examples of special feature. Back row from left: items no. 2 and 3. Front row from left: items no. 1, 2 and 3.



Figure 43. Examples of geometrical shape of discs. Back row from left, beginning with the large item: shape group 3; shape group 1; shape group 5. Front row from left: shape group 1; shape group 10; shape group 8. Examples of special feature. Back row from left: items no. 2 and 3. Front row from left: item no. 1 (though difficult to distinguish on the photo).



Figure 44. Examples of geometrical shape of discs. Back row from left: shape group 3; shape group 3; shape group 3. Front row from left: shape group 2; shape group 4; shape group 3 (small item in the front); shape group 2. Example of special feature: Front row from left: item no. 1.

Special feature
(This is not considered for the groups 3 and 10.)
29 items display the special feature of oppositely placed bulges. It appears either on all or on approximately half of the amount of discs in the groups displaying a circular or a half circular shape as well as on all items of group 9.
Groups 6 and 8 display no visible bulges (see Table 9:App. and Figures 42, 43 and 44 again; it is to be observed that one of the items with bulges belongs to the exclusions from the established groups. Hence, only 28 items appear in the table).

Spatial distribution of geometrical shape
Group 1 mostly appear in the IW area (6 items) and second most in the ISE area (3 items). Group 9 originate in these areas too while group 8 appear in the IW area.

Group 3 and the groups of 'halves' mostly occur in the NWE, INE and OS areas. Group 3 mostly originate in the INE area (6 items). The groups of 'halves' mostly originate in the OS area (11 items) (Figure 45:App.; compare with Figure 41:App.).

Spatial distribution of special feature

The special feature of bulges appear on more than half of the discs in the IW area (8 of 13 items) and the ISE area (5 of 7 items). It appears on less than half of the discs in the INE area (3 of 12 items) and the OS area (7 of 15 items).

Comparison with cart frames

Similar to the cart frames, the discs are to be sorted into regulated and spatially ordered groups. But they point out different areas of similarities since they are not connecting the IW and OS areas, but the IW and ISE areas as well as the INE and OS areas.

Out of these results, a distinct ordering of the discs can be observed which may awake several interpretation possibilities. One could perhaps on one hand view the discs as still at unfinished stages with the different shapes accordingly displaying different stages of production. The bulges could possibly be a result of a step in the working process. It would however on the other hand be more difficult to explain why a majority of the circular shaped exhibit bulges, since these in this case could be expected as completed discs in contrast to, say, the irregular items. One may in this connection further consider the particular principle of halves, strengthened with the presence of the bulges and significantly contributing to the regulated character of the sorting.

Contrary to established thoughts, the groups tend to produce a kind of spatial order as well. Possible connections noted between specific areas could moreover be taken to suggest a pattern in line with the 'inside/outside' division. This would indicate several possibilities, especially when at the same time recalling the notion of the cart frames as *not* following this division.

Conceptual considerations of the third step

Summarizing, it may thus be proposed that the discs in their visible, yet subtle, ordering do conform to the conceptualised patterns established. While this order is different in shape than the previous, this may strengthen more the proposed concepts of *similarities sharpened by differences* and, inversely, *differences sharpened by similarities*. It can further be suggested that indications have emerged during the sorting which point, in a slightly modified way when comparing with the cart frames, to the three subdivisions established. The concepts may thus be proposed to suit this new type of material too, despite slight modulations. The descriptive map mentioned above could therefore be suggested to become more dynamic in appearance. Since differences and similarities appear between the pattern of cart frames and the pattern of discs, of considerable interest when focusing on their simultaneity, the mutual character of each pattern may become further strengthened due to both its similarities and differences to the other pattern. The concepts further turn valid not only on the level of cart frames and discs respectively, but also on the level between them, for a conceptualised mapping of relations. This would I suggest as especially coveted because of the capacity of this higher level to emphasize essential points of intersections.

Since the discs display a visible, ordered pattern like the cart frames, one may suggest them to be viewed and discussed in a similar way as these, with the help of the previously established concepts and following the capital concept by Bourdieu, the power analytics by Foucault, the outlines by microarchaeology of serial action and repetitive patterning…

However, what distinguishes the discs from the cart frames and brings the whole discussion into a different dimension is the circumstance that the discs are supposed to have

been produced by children. While the cart frames have been discussed as objects made by adults for children, the discs may thus be proposed as totally belonging to children's sphere since these, if manufactured by children, accordingly can be taken as dictated by children as well. The discs therefore tentatively offer an interesting dimension to a closer study on the users of the items. To understand the realm into which they consequently are put, the concepts by, respectively, Lönnqvist (1992) and Lillehammer (2000) of the *mirror- and adventure mechanisms* and the *world of children* can be used (these were briefly presented in the description on previous and recent research work on children and toys):

If departing from the traditional view when studying children and grasp them as passive mirrors of the adult world, a loss of recognition is claimed by Lönnqvist (1992:77ff, 355) of the cultural network which exists between children. The hardly approached perspective of the adventure mechanism with its focus on children's own world tries on the contrary to catch the child 'in itself' with the hermeneutic endeavouring to reach a different culture group, with different sets of metaphors and symbols. Stressing this culture as a process of creating meaning and territory, Lönnqvist emphasizes it as 'children's territory' in opposition to 'children's position'. Since this culture exhibits a different kind of world, with other traditions than the accepted, it is however further argued that our way of analysing still is quite incapable to document it properly. While the structure of play is concluded as a special kind of abstraction (as was mentioned earlier), which yields a peculiar way of acting and thinking, new sorts of problems for the researcher to struggle emerge: the management of actions that are short lived and of highly changeable character (Lönnqvist 1992:375).

Lönnqvist's outline is thus used here with a view of connecting the sphere of children with the capital concept by Bourdieu and the power relations accentuated by Foucault. With this, the stamp of passivity traditionally given to this sphere is tentatively avoided.

Lillehammer (2000:21ff) claims a similar perspective but explicitly addressing archaeological research. Her statements are used to link this sphere to the previously presented concepts by microarchaeology. She highlights the difference between the concept of the world of children and the passive, culture-constructed childhood concept while pointing to a specific spatial dimension of activity being included in the former. She criticises the categorical idea of the socialised child in archaeology, following the simplified view of children only imitating adults. This, she asserts, leads to a picture of behavioural conformity. In this connection, the difference between the concept of the world of children and the passive, culture-constructed childhood concept is highlighted while a specific, spatial dimension of activity is emphasized to exist within the former. Calling attention to approaches concerning interactions between children themselves, not necessarily involving adults, the distinction is similarly accentuated between the world of children and the world of adults. The imitation by children of other children, which forms different relations and creates particular social identities, is claimed in the former. Similar to Lönnqvist, however, Lillehammer mentions the difficulties of approaching this world. A search for spaces where children learn behaviours separate from the world of adults is suggested preliminary to be constituted by an effort to locate potential contextual evidences for this world. If not by direct evidence (i.e. skeletal remains) a search among material traces of daily life is among others proposed.

Cornell and Fahlander (2002a:32ff) suggest the concept of *chaîne opératoire* or the Marxist 'labour process' concept useful in the microarchaeological attempt to define series of actions since these actions are being searched for through distinguishable repetitions. To exemplify the application of their theory, they mention a study by Artelius of an Iron Age cemetery in Sweden. While Artelius describes various mortuary traditions like post-cremation treatments, destruction of ceramics and the like, Cornell and Fahlander suggest his study to provide a *chain of action*, in this case of mortuary practices, in line with the proposed focus on repetitive practices. This notion, together with a claim by Choksi (2002:286) of the multitude of (social) life stages of a vessel, is borrowed (using a slightly different 'chain', modulated for a multi-level thinking) to review the traditional thought of an amount of discs to possibly be in still unfinished states. More on this follows in the discussion.

Attempting to approach the differences existing in the simultaneous patterns of cart frames and discs while grasping them with the perspective of children's world, a metaphor by Wittgenstein used by Cornell and Fahlander (2002a:26ff) in their microarchaeological approach may tentatively be applied. This metaphor tells of *fibres and threads* and is suggested by Cornell and Fahlander as a more flexible way of comprehending the complex relations which the striving towards an opening of the social structure uncovers. According to them, Wittgenstein uses the metaphor in his study of what he calls family resemblances to avoid the resemblances to lead into groups proper. The point is that a thread is seen as made up of several separate fibres which not necessarily may extend through the whole of the thread. A fibre may thus, as Cornell and Fahlander present it, be comprehended as a structurating or serial practice. A thread may be understood as a specific combination of certain practices, while one practice or fibre on the other hand may be seen mingling not only in one but in several different threads. This last notion may be suggested to suit the focus of this work of selected aspects as outlined by Asplund: the same fibre, like a specific management of cart frames, may appear in different threads or aspects.

The metaphor turns useful when having to cope with the complexity of the simultaneity of the two patterns. A deepened reflection on this is to be found in the following.

With help of the metaphor and further statements by Bourdieu and Foucault, linked to the features outlined by Lönnqvist and Lillehammer that distinguish the particular character of children's world, the comparison of patterns of cart frames and discs leads to a consideration of the complex, simultaneous existence in the social structure of change and continuity. This can thus be suggested as a further main category, tentatively conceptualising the simultaneity of differences and similarities in an inspiring way.

Step 4 – Nearing for a core

With the conceptualisation of the simultaneous patterns of cart frames and discs, each in turn mutually regulated by simultaneous differences and similarities, the perspective of the analysis may be suggested to narrow profoundly. With by now quite many saturated categories, a last sampling will be undertaken in order to 'prove' the conceptualised assumptions as well as highlight their specific character. This will lead into the final formation of the core, based on and encompassing the successive results and concepts of the analysis. Therefore, the last variable to consider is chosen with a focus on particular measures. During the primary data analysis, this variable did not seem to display any distinct similarities, which turns it of special interest for the last step's proving character. The circumstance that the discs are shaped out of potsherds further contributes to the choice: while this may automatically have decided the measures of the items (like, as has been assumed previously, in the case of slip), it cannot at the same time be ruled out that a conscious selection of potsherds to become grounded could be assumed as well.

The measures considered are diameter and brim thickness (note that diameter measures are approximate: diameter on items not circular in shape has been obtained by adding the largest and the smallest diameter measures and dividing the sum with two to reach an average value).

The step indeed adds an interesting confusion to the picture. Neither relations between the two measures nor spatial orderings of significance turn up. In the chaotic situation, however, a subtle though notable link to shape groups emerges.

<u>Diameter and brim thickness</u>

Measures

A wide range of measures appears. Diameter measures range from 18 to 66 mm. Brim thickness measures range from 4 to 14 mm.

Diameter and brim thickness relations
No relations of diameter and brim thickness of particular significance can be established.

Diameter related to geometrical shape
Specific intervals of diameter measures can be established within the larger shape groups (Table 10:App.):
Group 1: 2 intervals (19-25 mm and 32-42 mm, respectively)
Group 2: 2 intervals (40-47 mm and 55-66 mm, respectively)
Group 3: 3 intervals (30-33 mm, 39-44 mm and 49-52 mm, respectively)
Group 4: 1 interval (28-39 mm)
Group 5: 2 intervals (27-30 mm and 53-56 mm, respectively)
Group 6: 2 intervals (18-20 mm and 45 mm, respectively)

43 items (with 6 exceptions and 1 item omitted due to lack of diameter measure) fit into these intervals.
Among the smaller shape groups (with two items each), no specific intervals of diameter measure appear.

Brim thickness related to geometrical shape
A degree of similarity in brim thickness can be established within three of the four smaller shape groups (Table 11:App.):
Group 8: 7 mm
Group 9: 6 respective 7 mm
Group 10: 5 respective 6 mm

6 items fit into these similarities.
Since group 7 is not displaying any brim thickness similarities, this is the only group which is not producing any ordering of measures at all.
Among the larger groups, no similarities in brim thickness appear.

Spatial distribution
No regulated spatial distribution of particular significance can be established.

Comparison with cart frames
The meagre ordering of measures of the discs appears as a contrast to the considerable stronger ordering of the thickness measures of particularly the solid cart frames.

The intervals and the slight linking to shape groups may possibly be interpreted as the result of a particular management. A consciously established similarity in brim thickness cannot be eliminated either, although it appears striking when taking into account the fact that the discs are shaped out of broken potsherds. In light of the irregularity pointed out by the other aspects, the subtle connections may however perhaps be doubted as well. This adds a confusing element to the phenomenon of simultaneous ordering and irregularity. The question may tentatively become highlighted whether a preference is commonly given to either the former or the latter, in turn opening for a discussion on the management of contradictions and oppositely situated entities in general.

Before a consideration can start on the suggested concepts' possible ability to overcome this obstacle, a last look at the discs will be taken: as was previously the case with the cart frames, a focus on exceptions and variations may perhaps be fruitful for a further sharpening of particularities. These phenomena thus complete the analysis of the discs (a consideration on preservation state is regarded meaningless for the discs as these are not producing any variations of breakage of special significance).

A detailed study on the above mentioned exceptions outlines the character of the subdivisions among the discs. *Ordered variations* and *anomalies* can both be established, although different in appearance when compared to cart frames.

Anomalies and ordered variations

Presentation and number of anomalies

Anomalies appear in almost every chosen variable (mentioned as exceptions). These may briefly be reconsidered as follows:

- Total appearance – clay: 2 items of red clay (see Figure 44 again, back row, second item from the left); 2 items of black clay (see Figure 5 again, back row, second and third items from the left). Surface appearance: though the particular separation may be a bit elusive, some items may nevertheless be suggested: 1 item with a slip of white colour (see Figure 44 again, back row, second item from the left); 1 item made from a potsherd with incisions (see Figure 43 again, first item from the left).
- Spatial distribution – no unique items mentioned.
- Geometrical shape – 1 item with the shape of one circular half and one irregular half with an edge in addition; 1 item with the shape of one circular half with three small edges and one irregular half.
- Diameter and brim thickness – diameter: 2 items of group 1 with measures 53 and 60 mm, respectively; 2 items of group 2 with measure 29 mm; 2 items from group 4 with measures 23 and 50 mm, respectively.

Only 1 item occurs in more than one variable. Thus, the total number of 14 items mentioned here in reality constitute 13.

Anomalies related to geometrical shape

No relations of anomalies and shape groups of particular significance can be established.

Anomalies related to diameter and brim thickness

No relations of anomalies and diameter and brim thickness of particular significance can be established.

Spatial distribution

The items of black clay appear in the OS area while one of the objects of red clay belongs to the OC area. This may perhaps indicate the distinction between the areas as somewhat artificial. It may further be noted that the second item of red clay emerges in the INE area (possibly of interest considering the above indicated connection between the OS and INE areas).

Presentation of ordered variations

For various reasons, 3 clusters of ordered variations (rather than groups proper) may be suggested:

1. Items of particular features – these objects, mentioned in connection with total appearance and consisting of 17 items, could, considering the repetitive appearance of these features on a number of items while the majority of objects are not displaying these, be regarded as an ordered variation.
2. Items lacking slip – especially when taking into account that 4 of these 7 items belong to the IW area, these may be suggested as a variation.
3. Shape groups 7, 8, 9 and 10 – since the smaller shape groups only constitute two items each, these may perhaps better be regarded as ordered variations than groups in the way the shapes counting larger numbers of discs form into groups.

Comparison with cart frames

Considering the large number of discs compared to cart frames, the appearances of anomalies among the former appear markedly small. In contrast, and if not taking into account the cart frame items of s/p group B, the discs exhibit more items belonging to the realm of ordered variations. If one would include the s/p group B in case of the cart frames, one could perhaps similarly consider the different slips of the discs as a framework for variation as well, turning the number of discs constituting variations significantly high.

While cart frames tell of the IW area as a location for unique features and variations, the discs may be suggested to point, though slightly, to the same area when it comes to ordered variations (variation 2: items lacking slip).

Both anomalies and ordered variations can thus be picked out and further strengthen the ordered similarities. The items of unique measures may for example be taken to sharpen the more the conformity of specific measure intervals of the majority of discs of the larger groups. Similarly, the items of odd clay could be suggested to slightly point at the connection between the OS and INE areas. The divergences in the number of anomalies and ordered variations between cart frames and discs highlight some interesting features discussed in the following.

Conceptual considerations of the fourth step

With the results of the discs indeed presenting, to a certain degree, a regulated pattern that can be conceptualised according to previous codings, the conceptualisations so far done, and resting on the data, appear mature enough to form the core without the need for further sampling.

Attempting to tie up the analysis to consider the outcome, a return to the current thoughts of the toy concept as a problem may be undertaken, approached from a consideration whether the items, thoroughly analysed by now, indeed can be concluded to represent toys or not. The above mentioned highlighting by the diameter and brim thickness variable to the simultaneous contradiction of ordering and irregularity then forms a starting point for a deepened consideration of the roots of the toy problem. At the same time, the outline of the nature of this problem serves a background towards which a brief retrospect of the working process is undertaken and the suggested conceptualisations continuously considered and discussed in terms of their ability to overcome the problem. This leads into an emphasis of a widening of the toy concept. The benefit of including the concept into archaeological studies is thereafter summoned, ending up in a proposal of a new kind of viewpoint or principle to take form out of the main categories. With this, an integration of the variables and categories can be proposed since these have managed to direct the outline of the analysis in a fruitful way towards a viable approach on toy artefacts.

6. Towards patterns of social actions

…you would think it is the locust's humming only;
but it is not...

1. Differences as status strategies – similarities as transmission communicators

Differences

In a consideration on appropriate terms of economic value for societies of pre-market systems, Ratnagar (2002:93) suggests labour input as a convenient aspect. Though mentioning the risk of ethnocentrism, she proposes the idea that the greater the proportion of labour input, the greater was the economic significance. Following this, and taking the variable of slip and patterning as an example, one may propose that cart frames covered in slip or patterned tell of such greater significance. Items both slipped and patterned would thus be placed in the absolute front. But what about these differences?

They probably point at a range of meanings, purposes. In a larger study, some of these could perhaps be defined through site comparisons, analysis of specific types of models as mentioned above, or distinguishing of different production stages and so forth.[1] The choice of focus together with the specific awareness of this, following the concept of aspects, may at this point be stressed as essential for not loosing oneself completely in the unknown. Thus, with the social perspective in mind, the differences may be approached as forms of symbolic capital. The shaping of objects of the same type into varying constitution, giving them different amounts of economic significance as outlined by Ratnagar, implies that the acquisition of in this case the cart frame was not confined to one and the same shape but that one had access to a number of different qualities according to taste. Not going deeper into what circumstances may have decided in people's choices for the moment, the differently looking cart frames can hence be seen as expressions of taste and thus as contributors to the creation and recreation of symbolic capital.

Considering at the same time the toy role of the cart frame and the established view of it as adult-made, this may lead to interesting consequences. In their different approach on children's toy possessions, objecting to the traditional linking of toys solely to play or to their effect on the child, Nelson and Nilsson refer to a statement by Sutton-Smith of the infant bedroom to be seen as "/…/a story about what modern and affluent people like to believe about themselves." (Sutton-Smith according to Nelson & Nilsson 2002:part 1:22). In line with this statement, the cart frame could, besides possible set purposes to be a children's plaything, act as part of adults' status strategies, expressing indirectly, when given to the child, the social position of its parents. It may be viewed in connection with adults competing with each other through their children for social positions. The few patterned objects in contrast to the not patterned could tentatively serve as an illustrative example of the idea. This would further give a logic point to the ordered pattern displayed by the analysed items. Scattered all around, in disorder, would not fit bearers of taste which, according to Bourdieu, handle the transformation of objects into signs of separations (Carle 2003:401). Thus, the cart frame would turn into a symbol who's differences, acting as taste distinctions, would imply differences in social positions as part of a story of society's power relations.

[1] The differences can of course imply changes through temporal succession. As mentioned previously, this is however not within the frame of this work.

Spatial insight

Since one may assume that factors behind capital indicators are various and intermixed, the differences may of course be approached from diverse aspects. In light of the suggested interpretations of the settlement's various areas, spatial distribution lies for example close at hand.

Concentrating on the walled area, one may recall the various craft activities suggested for the different areas: the shell manufacturing location in the western part, the faience production in the southeast corner, the adjacent silos containing unworked semiprecious stone and so on. Based among others on the absence of traces of bead working in connection with the latter, a specific infrastructure is suggested for the settlement's control of production and system of trade, with highly specialized and spatially segregated craft activities (Sonawane *et al.* 2003:44; pers. comm., Ajithprasad 2004). The place of the silos has therefore been proposed as an area solely designated for the keeping (i.e. controlling) of the raw material with the production located somewhere else. In this context, the idea is suggested by Bhan of this area to be the location of, for example, a 'rich merchant', a person with powers of controlling the production and trade of the settlement. The area would thus be pointed out as expressing particular social significance revealed by, among others, especially elaborate artefacts. A similar suggestion exists for the shell working area, were shell material may have been distributed to workshops located somewhere else in the settlement, later to be returned in the form of worked shell items such as bangles (pers. comm., Bhan 2004).

Does the spatial distribution of cart frames indicate something in line with these interpretations? One may for instance consider the different clusters of solid versus perforated items or the imbalanced distribution of patterned objects: could circumstances such as the southeast corner of the enclosed area yielding most of the relatively few perforated types but none of the patterned objects express something about social positions inherent in the segregated areas?

The walled area is thought of as the location of more specialized craft activities while the area outside the wall possibly may have housed more ordinary activities (pers. comm., Bhan 2004). In a comparison of the walled area with the outside area south of the wall, however, only a slight difference appears in the fact that all perforated cart frames with the same-thickness measure appear in the western as well as southeast parts of the enclosed area but not outside the wall.

One could further consider the cart frames clustered around the southern corners of the wall. While objecting to the idea of a stone bead production located outside the southwest corner due among others to the lack of working floors, Bhan (pers. comm. 2004) proposes the area rather to be made up of secondly deposited material, waste, according to a manner of deposition repeatedly noted by anthropologists and archaeologists in different parts of the world and consisting of throwing the waste away just outside the living area, down a slope or over a wall.[2] Imagining this scenario for the area around the southeast corner as well, it would perhaps give a clue to the circumstance that this area solely, and just like the adjacent area inside the wall, yields perforated cart frames. At the same time, however, no evidence of waste disposal which could support this idea has been notified in this location, whereas the idea of the area outside the southwest corner as an area for waste has been rejected by some scholars. Ajithprasad (pers. comm. 2004) points for example to its closeness to the passage between the inside- and outside areas as well as its location right within what is considered to probably have been habitation area. Since an amount of the bead traces are of black agate, he rather suggests this as a possible workshop for small-scale production of such beads.

[2] A similar interpretation is for example suggested by Fedorova (pers. comm. 2003) at the Iron Age and fortification site of Ust-Voykar in Northwest Siberia.

Separators of social groups and gendered attributes

The different constitutions suggested for the areas basically follow the division of the site made up by the wall. At the same time, however, it must be noted that the proposed interpretations refer to craft activities. Since evidences for other dimensions of life at the settlement are quite elusive, the differences may not be taken to simply conclude the enclosed area to be, say, 'more exclusive' than the outside. The structural remains on the inside as well as on the outside are for example all built by the same kind of mud bricks (pers. comm., Bhan 2004). Indeed, the traditional idea of a rigid, socially loaded division of Harappan cities and towns into a higher and lower part, with social distinctions automatically following, has more recently been objected to. As previously touched upon, Kenoyer (2000:52) points for instance to the fact that both large and small buildings, craft workshops and others are not confined to one area but found all over the settlements. Characterized by social fluidity and heterogeneity, the city at Harappa thus in his account becomes a dynamic settlement where a mixture of artisans, merchants, shopkeepers and other professionals dwell with fisherfolk, farmers and hunters living within the city, and with merchants and nomads coming from afar, turning the city to a meeting place of diverse social and ethnic groups (Kenoyer 2000:127f). Adding to this, it may further be recalled as an interesting reflection the composite population that forms the village of Bagasra today.

Though being intertwined with the matter of power and status, the differences in their role as taste distinctions can thus moreover be suggested to act as separators of various social groups in line with the function of cultural mechanisms as described by Choksi (2002). As a consequence, this turns a stay strictly within the lines of Bagasra untenable. In accordance with the mechanisms, Choksi (2002:285) demands a shift of focus with a striving to understand both inter- and intra-site variations. The conception of the differences thus unavoidably opens up a broader perspective at the same time as one may question the benefit of at all drawing any geographical boundaries when searching for social groups of unknown constitution and movement.

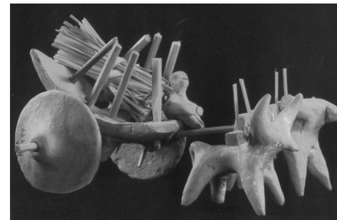


Figure 46. Reconstructed toy cart (after McIntosh 2002:Color Plate 5).

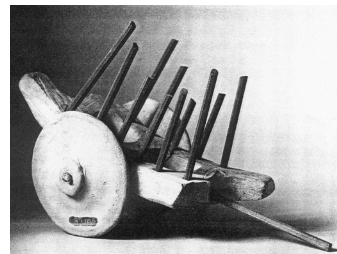


Figure 47. Reconstructed toy cart (after Poster 1986:Color Plate 1).

As may be illustrated by comparing a small selection of reconstructed cart models of solid as well as different perforated types, an amount of differences and variations appear among cart frames and cart models from diverse Harappan sites simultaneously as these are all being classified as an Harappan hallmark (Figures 46 and 47; compare with Figures 3, 4, 25 and 37).[3] Based on modern analogies, Kenoyer (2000:89) suggests the various styles of the full-sized carts of the past, indicated by the models, to reflect social or ethnic distinctions. In his classification of the Classical Harappan cart frames at the site at Harappa into different main types, he further proposes the broad range of variations among others to result from local development of specialised transport vehicles as well as local interrelations between different cultural traditions (Kenoyer 2004:104). These kind of thoughts could perhaps be applicable to the models themselves as well. If so, one could tentatively look upon how Bourdieu followed the Kabyl men as these, driven by unemployment, had to move out of their villages and cluster in the modern city of Alger. Out of their new, unfamiliar environment and their homelessness, he concluded both a splitting up of their symbolic capital as a continuum of it (Carle 2003:382ff). The collision between the Algerian farmers and the modern city, caused by the

[3] Except for variants of the solid and perforated types, there exist other types of models as well (cf. Kenoyer 2004). For a kind of container-shaped cart, for example, see Sharma 2003:10.

turmoil following the French superiority, a Western stranger, of their country, may seem to have nothing in common with settlements being bound together by the same communication and trade networks and sharing the same set of characteristics. With such a step of his however, following people of distinct capital constitutions out of their village and into their new settings embedded with other sets of capital, it may be emphasized that symbolic capital may not only be spoken of within a settlement but also *between* settlements, probably as much of topicality for the way the cart frames at Bagasra differ from each other. Considering the suggested feature of Harappan settlements of marked specialization and/or focused on the supply of one or two particular raw materials, previously described, a difference of capital between sites could perhaps, though the idea is possibly quite speculative, be assumed to have been even more pronounced? A turn of this broadened but yet figurative conception into a literal one by a thorough site comparison on a simultaneous inter-, intra-site level would certainly benefit the discussion. Due to the constitution of the frameworks of this study, however, there is for the moment no possibility to proceed in the matter.

While considering the differences as expressions of symbolic capital, the notion of gender needs to be put in front too, as interwoven as social groupings with power relations of social structures and as difficult to tear into separateness. The interpretation of the cart frame and cart model with help of analogies drawn from modern carts in use in Indian and Pakistani villages today indirectly imply a gendered perspective, since modern carts usually appear to be driven by men and thus point to the sphere of men. Consequently, the cart frame model of ancient, if approaching it as necessarily inscribed with a particular ideology, can be supposed to tell us something of gender divisions in its differences. Perhaps is it to be interpreted in terms of a gendered attribute, a toy belonging to young males.

Whatever the constitution of the dimensions behind capital indicators may be, the distinctions show up subtle in shape. In contrast to the interpretations of the clearly separated craft activity areas, the objects do not point out any significant division between the inside and the outside. As the analysis has shown, they rather display a linking of one of the outside areas (OS) with one of the inside areas (IW). If presuming pattern to express greater economic significance on the basis of the extra labour input needed, it is notable that the largest amount of patterned items appear in the outside, southernmost area (OS), far from the wall, while none of them originate in the southeast corner of the walled area (ISE), despite the 'exclusive' appearance being suggested for the latter. The subtle quality is further shown in the absence of pattern among the solid cart frames of the third hole size group, since these at the same time seem to have been given extra labour effort in their significantly straight and finely cut shape. The differences thus seem to warn against a too simplified, socially loaded division of, for example, 'inside' versus 'outside', rejecting a simplified cutting of a social structure of unknown constitution in two, asymmetrical 'halves'. They tell of a search for something more complex than that.

Similarities

A differentiating of social groups and the like can of course be discussed in terms of the similarities appearing among the cart frames as well. However, as concerns the similarities, these will be approached with the scope to highlight yet another essential aspect of the social structure.

Uniform features?

Although more recently in focus for discussion and revision, uniformity and standardized features have recurrently been described as an urban Indus characteristic. Could the similarities among the cart frames imply such features? Considering the various uniform phenomena

pointed out within the urban Indus realm, described above and ranging from town layout and brick size to types of pottery, tools and crafts, it would perhaps not seem too far-fetched.

As was previously mentioned, in his analysis and classification of the Harappan cart frame fragments, Kenoyer specifically highlights the significant variety of full-sized carts (implied by the mini-sized models) that may have existed during the Classical Harappan period. The range of variations is in this connection rather stated as related to functional purposes (Kenoyer 2004:96), though this at the same time appear somewhat unclear since, as noted above, it is in the same article simultaneously suggested that the variations depend on local connections between different cultural traditions. Functional 'causes' may thus be held in mind as a probability when considering the similarities of the Bagasra cart frames. At the same time, there exist some features that appear striking if only considering function: the three hole size relations, the four measure groups, the pattern of red squares, the connection of variables displayed by the solid items.

If taking into account the other proposed reason for variations, namely interrelations between different cultural traditions, the 'cause' for these kind of similarities may perhaps be seen in line with the suggestion above that particular, full-sized carts belonging to particular social or ethnic communities may have had their correspondences in miniature- or toy carts. However, even if thus suggesting specific hole size relations to derive from particular models belonging to particular social or ethnic communities, the interesting circumstance still remains that these communities in that case *decided* to give their toy carts the hole size relations in question at the same time as other communities may have decided *not* to do so on *their* specific toy carts. This may tentatively bring the idea of different cart models to belong to different social or ethnic groups a step further.

Identical measures or measure relations that point to standardization are in archaeological studies commonly taken as criteria for an industrial manufacturing by specialists (pers. comm., Krishnan 2004).[4] In light of the suggested existence of highly specialized settlements within the Harappan realm, one may reflect upon a short notice in the by now quite old study of ancient toys by White (1971:46), which proposes the Harappan site of Chanhudaro in today's southeast Pakistan to display signs of specialisation in the making of toys. Similar suggestions in any other, more recent studies have however not turned up despite searches. Could it be, that the ordered pattern displayed by the cart frames of Bagasra indicates an industrial manufacturing and management?

The thought of uniform features among the cart frames maybe at a first glance appear a bit too awkward regarding their role as toys, although it certainly may be discussed from a variety of starting points. Factors such as technique and raw material could at a first glance seem to object to the idea of an industrial management. Manufacturing a cart frame would not require as much skill as, for example, the cutting of shells into circlets for making bangles, and the clay needed would be easy to obtain. Since the terracotta is both easy to break and reproduce, it is emphasised that this is probably not pointing to any high amounts of trade value, at least not in long distance trade (pers. comm., Bhan 2004).

However, other arguments may put this delicate question in a different light. To start with, there is at least the requirement of a kiln for the production and though the cart frames may point to a less fine constitution of clay than the pottery, they nevertheless show up well fired. On the basis of ethnographic studies of rural villages in India, it seems, as is emphasized by Krishnan (pers. comm. 2004), that pottery may not have been manufactured in exactly every tiny settlement but sometimes obtained from larger settlements. Geological factors could for example decide in the matter, as may be indicated by a comparison of Bagasra with the smaller settlement at the site at Nagwada to the north. While the latter has by far not yielded as much toy artefacts as Bagasra as well as no kiln traces, there simultaneously exist differences in the

[4] These criteria is put under critical consideration by Blackman, Stein and Vandiver (1993). While pointing to the so-called 'cumulative blurring' effect (compositional and metric variability to be seen in otherwise homogenous ceramics due to utilization), they claim standardization of ceramics to be valid as an index of craft specialization only under close chronological and spatial control of the archaeological record.

clay constitutions of the two sites with the clay from Bagasra being of much better quality (pers. comm., Krishnan 2004). It may in this connection be accentuated that the preparing of raw clay for the making of pottery and terracotta objects is a complicated task someone without the skilled potter's knowledge probably would not cope with. Details of this complexity, though being focused on pottery, is among others dealt with in an account by Krishnan and Rao (1994), in which microstructure analysis of pottery is claimed as a way to detect the various methods used for these preparations. In a test of the possibility to search for the ancient techniques through grain size analysis, small but significant differences in inclusion materials become visible. While fine sand is found in fine pottery and medium and coarse sand in the coarser wares, for example, which illustrates differences in clay paste preparation as well as in intended purposes and functions of the pots, the essential knowledge the potter must possess of necessary inclusions, firing temperature needed for the lattice water to escape and the like, becomes emphasized. By various ethnoarchaeological studies, a marked separation has furthermore been noted between the potters and the producers of terracotta items, which seldom turn out to be the same persons; in this connection, Sharma (2003:13) stresses the information given by the Buddhist text *Mahavastu* from the third century AD, where potters are named *Kumbhakaras* and mentioned separately from the clay modellers, known as *Pustakarakas*. Adding to this, one may further mention the suggested presence at some Harappan sites of kilns specifically designed for the firing of terracotta items and faience objects (Mughal 1997:38f). Thus, if one compares the toy cart not with other objects in general but with other toys which probably may have existed, the latter perhaps obtained from perishable material like leaves or grass, the terracotta toy would indeed point at a certain value (pers. comm., Krishnan 2004).

Ratnagar (2002:85ff) discusses the nature of the Harappan decline as set into the general Bronze Age framework. In this, she points to the distribution through the Harappan trade networks of luxury items intended for a small elite which, since its power foundations were built upon its trade links, were unable to keep its positions when these links got disturbed. Inspired by this perspective but slightly modulating the notion of luxury items for an elite by rather viewing it as a principle which may have permeated all the veins of a specific social structure (and probably accounting to commodities of a lesser degree of 'luxury'), the cart frames could, in their acting as status strategies, possibly indeed fit into the picture of trade. Discussing the nature of the stone bead and shell working organisation that may have existed at Bagasra, Bhan (pers. comm., 2004) suggests a system of two different workshops, which is based on ethnographic studies of stone bead production in today's Combat in Gujarat. The first of these may be described as a kind of control workshop, consisting of a constant manufacture that follows tradition. By long-distance trade, it serves a steady circle of customers. The second, which functions as a sort of entrepreneur workshop, does not export its craft but produces it for the demands in its immediate surroundings. Its manufacture is therefore more changeable in shape, following the shifts of mode. Speculating about a similar system for the site at Bagasra, Bhan proposes the content of one of the two silos of semiprecious stone in the southeast corner of the enclosed area to be meant for export, due to such things as its quite big pieces of jasper. The other silo would in contrast, with its smaller stone pieces, rather contain material for distribution to craftspeople within the settlement at Bagasra.

In light of such a manufacturing and trade system, one could put attention to the contrasts in the conformity of the red square pattern of the cart frames, the only existence of this in the east and south with the majority appearing in the southern area outside the wall (OS) and, simultaneously, the lack of this pattern in the western area inside the wall (IW). The lack of both patterned and solid cart frames in the southeast corner of the enclosed area (ISE) may at the same time be noted. One could perhaps suggest the idea that the red pattern, the pattern variations and the cluster of perforated items, with their marked spatial distributions respectively, could imply some kind of divisions following separated productions and/or managements, maybe with one or another of these clusters received by or meant for some kind

of trade (one may in this connection recall the suggested remains of a pottery kiln in the southernmost area; an essential clue for the cluster of red square pattern found here?).

Be it for trade or not, a key point is in any way the fact that examples such as identical hole sizes or relations between hole sizes and thickness measures seem to indicate the work of specialists. If so, a specific knowledge would have been required, an ambition to give the cart frames uniform features. Why, then, would this have been desirable?

Aspect of transmission

These kinds of similarities would probably be impossible without some sort of centralized direction. The question may however be approached from a specific angle of this, namely, that particular aspect of such a specialized, highly advanced and stratified urban system as the Classical Harappan, which tells us about its capability to transmit itself to the next generation. In the planning and building, in complex manufacture stages, a constant introduction and education of the features to the new generation (i.e. the children) must necessarily have existed.

The concept of reproduction by Bourdieu may be useful to outline this particular aspect. Based partly on ethnographic studies, it is proposed for societies as the one at Bagasra a partaking of children in their parents' skills, so that the pottery family's children would have participated in the pottery production and so forth (pers. comm., Krishnan 2004). This kind of learning, generally regarded as more active in constitution in contrast to the modern (Western) way of educating by letting the pupil passively listen to a teacher, may perhaps seemingly object to the use of the concept in this case. The emphasis on transmission could perhaps indeed seem to deliver the idea of a rather passive reception. However, it is emphasized by Bourdieu that the discovery and acquiring of proper symbolic values constitute the most essential tasks for the pupil within the mediating of the cultural capital by the educational system. Beside struggling for perfection of a particular subject, for example, the pupil needs firstly to reflect upon the importance of the adaptation to the symbolic values, and secondly to transform these in a dialog with the source of power that delivers the right values (Carle 2003:384f). Thus, with the idea of education as the introduction of the society system to the next generation, the concept tentatively becomes vital regardless the way of educating. With such an introduction of the society to its newcomers which is suggested for the ancient settlement at Bagasra, there must necessarily have existed a transmission of specific symbolic values as well.

In the participation of children in family's work, different skills and occupations are proposed to continue within the same family through heritage. This kind of system of heritage could possibly seem more rigid and collective in character than a rather more individually focused French society of today. This may thus at a first glance furthermore appear as an opposite to the French educational system in which the system is stressed by Bourdieu (1999:33) to be built up by an ongoing chain of selection principles (exams) in which the pupils which have gained the proper cultural capital will be selected from those lacking it. Deciding in this selection, however, as Bourdieu continues, are the social differences. Pupils from families already possessing the right symbolic values will therefore also be those gaining them through education. The supposed opposition may thus tentatively turn a bit simplified. Starting from the suggestion that the city of Harappa may have housed a more flexible social stratification than the Indian caste system of today, it is for example proposed that there may have existed the possibility for people to change positions and occupations (Kenoyer 2000:131). Considering this, as well as the fact that a possible Harappan system of heritage in any way is swept in obscurity to us, and comparing it with a French society that in Bourdieu's view indeed seems to keep to a quite rigid heritage structure, the opposition may be suggested to disappear sufficiently enough.

It thus turns valuable to keep to the idea of the educational system as functioning as an upholder of existing social positions (Bourdieu 1999:33). Whereas children were engaged with the cart frames in their stages of production, in owning them, in various ways of using them and so forth, the cart frames would turn up as communicators in a similar manner as outlined by Sutton-Smith and other toy researchers. In their study of children's toy possessions, Nelson

and Nilsson embark for example on an analysis of the toy from a communicative perspective with a focus on it as a sign, describing how the world is depicted (Nelson & Nilsson 2002:part 1: 13, 23). The cart frames may hence have delivered subtle messages of which one can only guess but which were intended to reach, and initiate, the young in such a way that the differentiated structure of power positions would continue. The striking similarities could with this be suggested to express a specific nature of such transmission. Uniform features such as hole size relations or specific patterns of a specific colour may thus turn 'logic' if uniformity was, to a certain degree, coveted: by giving the material culture of next generation such features, the continuation of the social positions which the uniformity signals would be assured.

A further reflection may in this connection be mentioned: if uniform features would appear as particularly apparent among the cart frames, which in that case would separate them from other toys not displaying such profound similarities, this would in turn imply the cart frames as especially essential in a messenger's role. This would in that case load them the more with symbolic values of unknown content. Here, it would be worth to consider the suggestion of them as miniature models. If they can tell us about, as is commonly believed, the existence in Harappan time of real, full-sized carts, the very idea of producing and using these carts in miniature sizes for toy purposes may probably play a key role. For in that case, the idea itself would turn up as a standardized concept. It would within this context be essential to consider what aspects of the full-sized carts they were supposed to mirror.

With the notion of reproduction and transmission, the ordered pattern may not seem particularly strange but rather in consequence with the view in which the idea of children randomly 'scattering around' their belongings, a picture in any case not supported by the analysis, simultaneously becomes undermined. Concerning the building of Mohenjo Daro, for example, Jansen stresses that such "/…/extraordinary efforts would have been possible only by a highly developed spirit of planning/…/." (Jansen 2002:111). Such a spirit would probably not develop in a society where next generation would 'scatter around' their belongings in a way indicating lack of spatial ordering and structural thinking. Would it be possible at all to pass on a social structure of this complexity to such a generation?

2. Simultaneity of differences and similarities as partakers in serial practices

In fact, the patterns of the cart frames point both to conformity and internal variations; though the hole size relations are identical within, they differ in between; while the variables of the solids are to be connected, the variables of the perforated are not, and so on. It could thus be suggested that the differences and similarities sharpen or even shape each other's patterns. The differences would probably not lead the interpretation into social stratifications this much, if there would not be any similarities strengthening their appearance. Inversely, if only the similarities would turn up, indications of standardization would supposedly be viewed in a different way, since a striving towards uniformity would probably not be seen in connection with stratified concepts but rather be interpreted in terms of more tradition-bound regulations of less dynamic appearance (and thus less fruitful to approach). Consequently, the *simultaneity* of differences and similarities and the distinguishing of essential relations within this appear as key points.

As the examples have repeatedly shown, the idea of the differences and similarities as constituting simple opposites must firstly be abandoned. The various differences, for instance, do not form any homogenous cluster which could be oppositely placed to something else. Rather than simply mirroring each other, one would say that differences and similarities describe their own unique patterns which not necessarily must 'fit logically' when being put together. Rather than 'explaining', their common picture may confuse.

Ordered similarities

Since the ordered pattern is viewable through all chosen variables, like a chain or, better, chains difficult to understand but clearly visible and distinguished in this work as *ordered similarities*, a picture of ordered but subtle regulations can be suggested as a more preferable characterization. One chain is for instance composed by the connection of the variables of the solid cart frames, from slip and patterning to state of preservation, while another chain or subtle regulation at the same time take shape by the perforated objects' none-connection.

The subtle regulations accentuate a complexity which has already been touched upon in connection with the impossibility (and danger) of distinguishing a partition between a socially higher and lower part. Through the concept of micropower by Foucault, the viewable pattern of order with the particular power positions this can be suggested to offer glimpses of may be grasped in a different way, with the potential of avoiding such homogenous and motionless partings. While in the power structure of Foucault knowledge cannot act solitaire, since power and knowledge form a necessary interconnection, the higher-lower structure is tentatively loosened in that it rather appears as a construct of the specific relation of power-knowledge that is formed in one's own culture and the particular conceptions this may lead to. If further supposing the power-knowledge interrelation to be universal to social structures, an unfamiliar structurating of positions, resulting from a relation of a specific knowledge and a specific power of, respectively, unknown constitutions, should indeed become possible to visualize.

With its significant simultaneity of being both productive and surrendered, the body is emphasized of holding a key-role in the creation and maintaining of power relations. Since power is constituted by a material as well as immaterial regulating with a capacity to surround the fields of action of the body, this simultaneity forms an essentiality (Foucault 2003). Thus, another fundamental point which can be suggested to emerge are the performances and ongoing movement permeating the social structure, as this constitutes the prerequisite of power to come into existence at all. With this, the suggested interpretations of differences and similarities as status strategies and transmission symbols can in fact be proposed as different manifestations of the same kind of regulation of fields of actions. A regulating which in turn can be comprehended as both dictated by as well as itself dictating the specific knowledge-power relation prevalent at the ancient settlement at Bagasra.

Ordered variations

With the ordered pattern thus suggested to indicate regulated fields of action, it seems further of relevance to consider the subtle character of this, here conveniently (though a bit schematic) suggested by the term of *ordered variations*.

As a collective expression of the specific freedom emphasized by Bourdieu and seen as a result of long duration of subordination, the social group is claimed to keep together and thus cause a confirmation of prevalent values (Carle 2003:396f). This particular freedom can therefore be suggested as fitting well with the use of the power concept by Foucault. The elusiveness recognized in some parts of the pattern could tentatively be interpreted in line with the existence of this. Considering the ordered variations picked out by the analysis – the four perforated cart frames of the width/thickness group of same measures, the solid items of the third hole size group and the patterning, seen as a framework for variation – these could, in accordance with the freedom concept, indicate spaces which were allowed to be set aside for a 'free' shaping, at the same time though kept under strict regulation like the art interpretations outlined by Bourdieu. A further example may be constituted by the mentioned chain recognized among the solid cart frames, which clearly shows that the patterned objects express the most ordered hole size groups and measure relations, and which therefore divides them from the not patterned items which are not displaying hole sizes and measures that much regulated. The patterned solid cart frames could accordingly express a specific symbolic capital that demands cart frames in a highly regulated design, strictly keeping occurrence of variation to the patterning realm. The more marked appearance of differences among the solid objects than among the perforated items can be understood in the same way. Since the perforated examples

display no such chain of strict connection of the variables, these would perhaps not be in the same 'need' for allowed space of variation and, hence, appear more conform.

The cart frames are unlike the art example used by Bourdieu supposed to be toys. The space of variation could therefore be suggested to imply a regulation not only of the appearance of the objects, but of the very management of them as well. Though we of course cannot know exactly what such managements really may have looked like, it may be useful to consider some points of view by Joyce (2000:269ff) in her suggestion of an all-male socialization to be visible in Classical Maya art. While calling attention to images which depict young males engaged in activities like hunting and ball-game, she interpretes these as a way of educating and introducing young males to prevalent attitudes towards the male body. In this, she refers to the relationship proposed by Lancaster between play, practice and social construction of gender. Connecting to the claim by Butler of the social body construction by repetitive, gendered performances, Lancaster argues, according to Joyce, that despite the immanent quality of play, the game can never be played truly freely since one can never be the first to play, and counterforce, resistances and others will limit the ways of playing. Taking the ball-game as example, this could thus despite its supposed 'free play' be suggested as regulated. Its regulations inscribed in the ball-in-the-play, the ball may dictate a specific way of behaviour of the young male who engages with it.

While the cart frames have so far been quite loaded with various social symbols through the borrowed concepts by Bourdieu and Foucault, they may, in order to avoid loosing them into social abstracts too useless in the archaeological investigation, as well, and similar to the Maya ball, be regarded as dictating items themselves, as actors playing in a play aimed at securing prevalent social positions. The emphasis by microarchaeology of the interrelation between human agency and materialities may thus add a material dimension that frames the so far outlined concepts with archaeological substance. The ordering and variations can accordingly be suggested, in line with the theory, in terms of traces of structurating or serial practices. That is, of daily activities that are carried out by individuals that "/…/may in many situations act and think as solitaries, but/…/nevertheless reproduce patterns according to general social and material conditions." (Cornell & Fahlander 2002a:24f).

Similar to the ball-in-the-play, the ordered pattern of cart frames may thus represent practices that in extension maintain power regulations. With this, the somewhat abstract notion of the simultaneity of differences and similarities may become easier to grasp. Simultaneously, the semiconscious character of daily actions would imply the differences and similarities, suggested to express social positions, to represent the depth of the embedding of these positions into the social structure.

With power constituting an immanent force, the idea of power as projections from 'outside' upon those 'without' power becomes undermined. It cannot simply be located to political relations or class differences. The relations of power should rather be comprehended as reaching deep down, anchored into every part of the societal body. Not started 'from above' but working according to its own mechanism, power is exercised in various ambiguous, moveable networks of relations, such as within the family or between institutions, each of them acting according to its own pattern. Various points of contest and collision can with this be defined, resulting in temporary changes of relations with subsequent effects in the entire, surrounding network. Therefore, each of these micropowers, each participant, simultaneously constitutes in itself the cogwheel for power, while the totality of the variety of power relations renders society's existence possible (Foucault 2003:32, 218). The pattern distinctions cannot thus be seen in line with homogenous groups of power, but would rather speak of relations of a more complex nature, linked into various networks at different levels at the same time. This may tentatively be emphasized by their subtle character. These relations may be 'translated' with the microarchaeological emphasis of the concept of series by Sartre. Though the thesis will not deepen into this in more detail, explicitly defining series or serial categories, the previous mentioning of the differences to be taken as expressions of various social groups with this becomes modified; not solely undermined, but rather increased in a way that turns the closed

appearance of the group insufficient. Though not totally rejecting all-embracing concepts like culture, Cornell and Fahlander (2002a:29) stress their operational unsuitability while rather suggesting – due to the need of demarcating and grasping 'something' – the elusively characterized term 'social formations' to describe time-space 'clusters' of structurating practice. The idea of series of day-to-day activities constituting the social structure rather than closed categories indeed suits the study particularly well, since the terms 'children' versus 'adults' are highly elusive in character. It may thus be convenient to accompany with this and avoid the use of 'culture', 'society' or 'group' from now on.

While objecting to the thought of closed structural phenomena to explain actions, the complex relations of social interaction are emphasized which, as is claimed by Cornell and Fahlander (2002a:26), always constitute contradictions and ruptures breaking and opening up structures. With the ordered differences and similarities suggested as traces of series of various daily practices, in extension thus strengthening or changing prevalent power relations, contradictions and ruptures tentatively become especially highlighted, illustrated by, for example, the subtle character or the ordered variations. This view may become further inspired by an insight explicitly directed towards the phase of production and the claim by Choksi (2002:280ff) of viewing the potter in relation to the larger system. In this, the potter is stressed as working in a symbiotic relationship with society. The complexity of this relationship will result in the material and stylistic output. Quoting Van der Leeuw, Choksi addresses the necessity of including factors underlying the viewable pattern such as environment, choices of the potter, technical capabilities and others. Choices of the potter (or, here, terracotta maker) could thus for example offer an interesting picture of a producer who similar to an acrobat on his rope balances – supposedly, when following the microarchaeological ideas, as semiconsciously as other social agents engaged in their daily activities – on a mixture of own ambitions, unpronounced requirements, (structural) norms etc. In light of a visible repetitiveness of social practices, the ordered variations could be taken to illustrate such a careful day-to-day-moving with intermixed side-tracks, perhaps resulting from a specific customer's special wish, one's own creativity, an unusually high or low demand, new ideas and so on.

Though the power concept of Foucault appears fruitful, it should however be emphasized on the basis of the capital concept by Bourdieu that the power relations must be viewed as unequally distributed. Thus, the choices of the potter or terracotta maker cannot be seen to act on equal terms, or in solitude: there may be social agents possessing more power than the potter, putting particular demands upon him and directing his way of work. But rather than viewing these agents as a specific, ruling class, this may preferably be comprehended by such features as social conventions constituting the immediate surroundings of the production. In the study of the potential of microstructure analysis of pottery, mentioned earlier, Krishnan and Rao (1994:116f) accentuate the tendency, based on ethnographic information, of ancient as well as modern potters to keep to one single method of preparing clay paste. This method may be determined by such factors as nature of deposit, functional aspect and pottery size. The production is however further deliberately restricted to specific qualities and shapes intending to keep the balance of the market system.[5] Remains at Harappa seem to indicate that specialists in a particular craft activity may have lived clustered together in distinct parts of the city. The potters are thus suggested to have inherited their professions and to have lived at the same spot as their ancestors did (Kenoyer 2000:130, 152). A visit to a potter in today's Baroda may further illustrate the risk of simplifying the potter or terracotta producer and his choices if viewed as a 'solitaire'. The area of pottery production, complete with working- and living houses, locations for kilns, for cleaning clay through several water basins and drying and storing of pottery, is managed by one single, extended family that consists of several members. Whereas a potter does the actual forming of pots on the wheel, the family's men, women and children (although

[5] The various factors underlying the ways and decisions of a potter's work, including the 'tradition and change' factor, is further taken under detailed discussion by Choksi (1994) in her ethnoarchaeological study of pottery manufacture.

today the profession is not being taught to the young anymore) are all engaged in the different production stages (Figure 48). This may tentatively turn the 'choices of the potter' in a different light, as well as illustrate the complex intertwining of various power networks. As the third and last step of Van der Leeuw's model, the interdependence of the individual, the system and the context is thus put in focus (Choksi 2002:281).



Figure 48. One of the members of the extended pottery family in Baroda demonstrates the sieving of clay during the cleaning process through several water basins. Some of the other members of the large family are to be seen behind her.

Anomalies

If suggesting the ordered variations as day-to-day movements intertwined with different sidesteps, as a result of a range of intermixed reasons, one may further consider the role played by the *anomalies* existing within the same pattern. In his analysis of mortuary practices of a Middle Neolithic burial field, Fahlander (2003:111f) mentions the common failure in, for example, statistical analyses, of not taking notice of the odd elements prevalent in an assemblage. Though pointing to their inability to produce structurating indications, he calls attention to the fact that the odd features at least are situated in a context that, in some way or another, constitutes a structurated pattern. Therefore, the unique burials are included in the study as a complement to the general picture.

With the view of the anomalies to be situated within the regulative, one could suggest them to be comprehended as an extremity of the interdependency of the individual-structural relation. A discussion of peculiar representations is of course depending on the nature of these. As the reader has seen, the occurrence of anomalies is in fact included by this thesis as yet another variable with possibilities to contribute to a further insight into the emerging patterns. Keeping to this idea, these could at least for this study be suggested as quite valuable, in particular since they strengthen the visibility of the outlined pattern. It may for example be recalled that, among the solid cart frames and according to hole sizes and measures, all but two unique items belong to the not patterned objects. Though already visible by the strictness of the patterned, the division between these and the not patterned thus become the more sharpened.

Some significant details is furthermore given by spatial distribution. One example is the marked majority of anomalies originating in the western area of the walled area (IW). This may be seen as a 'dot over the i' too, since this area turns in focus when considering location of variations as well (recalling the even objects of the third hole size group of the solids). This area also houses most of the items lacking both slip and patterning (s/p group A), which, due to their fragmented state and the amount of examples lacking hole size- and/or measure relations, appear rather varied as well. The western, inside area (IW) thus appears as a striking contrast to the opposite area, the southeast corner of the walled area (ISE), when considering the quite conform objects of the latter. This pattern of distribution may therefore be suggested to tell something essential. Turning up as the location that produces the second highest amount of anomalies, the outside, southern area (OS) is put in focus too. One could thus use this to imply

some kind of similarity between this area and the area to the west within the wall (IW). While these areas have yielded the largest amounts of cart frames and the largest amounts of patterned examples, the adding of this third feature may be taken to imply a link between them. This tentatively becomes significant due to their totally different locations and separation by the wall. If one would follow the idea of the specific infrastructure as outlined above and focus primarily on manufacture, a scenario could be postulated of a possible production of terracotta items in the kiln and pottery area in the south, intended, for some reason, to be delivered to the western area inside the wall perhaps to be utilized in some unknown way or distributed to other locations (rejecting to this, however, is the circumstance that none of the items with red square pattern appear in the latter area). As a contrast to this view may, again, the striking conformity of the items of the southeast corner (ISE) be put (which were rather meant for trade purposes?).

As this picture may appear quite simplified, one could proceed to consider these spatial similarities on a broader level. Perhaps they suggest connections in terms of utilization or ways of possession since these areas are furthermore housing most of the patterned items and thus in turn harbouring the largest examples. What similar actions may have led to this state of preservation? In extension, the similarities may tentatively indicate some essential information regarding that particular aspect of the social structure that manifested itself by dividing the settlement in two. At least, there appears no simple confirmation of the suggested purposes of the wall but rather a challenge of these.

The anomalies may be particularly well suited to tell a range of unique histories too. One may recall one of the items frequently showing up as an exception (see Figure 29, left item, again). Its various unique properties emphasize the perhaps often overseen circumstance that every item, each being individually created and handled with, indeed bears inscribed messages of individual character.

In a consideration of the key question concerning *why* an item once was left in the ground, the anomalies may further add a deepened dimension to the suggested pattern of day-to-day activities and put the relation of the daily habit versus the odd movement in front. A range of reasons may of course cause the leaving of a thing; some may represent waste, as previously dealt with. Others may have been accidentally dropped. In his great chronicle of the Buendía family, García Márquez (1982:215f) reflects upon this latter subject as he endows one of the novel's actors, the old woman Ursula, with a remarkable ability to find lost items. This ability, as it turns out, is a consequence of her knowledge that an item has a tendency to get lost only when the owner or carrier of the thing, without being aware of it, steps out of his or her habitual, daily moves and thus brings the item in question out of its usual surroundings. Unambiguously, this will result in the impossibility to find the thing ever again.

Though perhaps a peculiar thought, one may nevertheless question if possibly lost cart frames should be regarded as dropped within moves of day-to-day character. The lost items probably existing within the assemblage should perhaps better be regarded as material that for some reason or other was taken out of its usual habitats. Accordingly, traces of odd, hidden paths should exist within the ordered pattern as well. Turned into a unique state, possibly telling of specific, odd activities that took them out of the ordinary, it is in that case perhaps the anomalies one should look for when searching for these.

As the reader may have noticed, the discussion has so far come close to the question of the individual versus the structure. In their proposal of a way through this problematic opposite, Cornell and Fahlander (2002a:25; see also Fahlander 2003:17f) criticise the view of traditional social theory of social practices to be seen as the effects of given high-level abstractions, like ideology or politics. Various attempts that claim *either* the individual's superiority over the structure *or* the opposite is critically reviewed. While choosing an alternative way, the concept of serial action by Sartre is called attention to:

> /…/[It] provides an illustration of how the sociality of agency is directly related to the material world. This relationship seems to imply that social action *mediates* individual agency with structural patterns, that is, the structures enabling or constraining human action. We do not favour any of the traditional dualist concepts like individual-society/…/, since the relevance of such virtual concepts is dubious. (Cornell & Fahlander 2002a:35f).

Thus, a viable middle way tentatively becomes within view, which tries to wind itself through problematic phenomena put opposite each other. To this way, the discussion will by all means return in the following.

In sum, the ordered similarities, the ordered variations and the anomalies can be suggested to cooperate in forming different facets of the visible pattern. Based on these facets, the complex simultaneity of differences and similarities can thus, as has been illustrated throughout this discussion, be taken to embody the equally complex and simultaneous individual-structure phenomena.

3. Simultaneity of cart frames and discs as indicators of change-continuity

One may suggest a regulated pattern among the discs to be further strengthened in light of the previously discussed pattern of the cart frames, since a variety of both similarities and differences between the two types of objects have appeared. Both of the patterns display for instance distinguishable shapes and measures possible to order to a certain degree. At the same time, various properties, like clay cleanness or spatial ordering, tell of differences that similarly bring forward a distinguishable pattern.

How, however, can a regulated pattern of items created and thus dictated by children be interpreted?

Pattern of discs

One may start with the common thought that an amount of discs are still at unfinished stages of production. The mentioned, particular features which appear on some of the items, like unusually sharp brims, may in this connection be recalled. Another example is of course the different shapes and the existence of the two bulges which could indicate different production stages. Would this be the case, however, the divergences in spatial distribution would appear slightly strange, considering that the majority of the still not finished items are found either outside the wall in the south or in the northeast area inside the wall, whereas the finished discs mostly appear inside the wall. It could of course imply location of production. Also questioning this idea, however, is the untenably high amount of discs that would still be in an unfinished state.

Game items – Foucaultian power networks – children's world

Searching for alternative suggestions and viewing the discs as belonging to games of hopscotch, the different geometrical shapes could be seen in terms of game rules. The ordered features, like the various shapes which the objects can be sorted into, the distinguishable measure intervals as well as the special feature of bulges could thus be mentioned once again. Maybe were they necessary, or regarded as necessary, for a specific way of playing, or, perhaps, shaped during the course of performing specific games that would have worn them off in similar ways. This may tentatively not appear a too far-fetched thought since there is a range of ways of playing the games today. Except for the various 'square games', drawn with a stick or a piece of chalk and probably familiar to most readers, there are in the Indian state of Kerala, for example, the knocking out of a circle of cashew nuts with a potsherd which preferably originates from the

thick bottom part of a pot. Another example tells of the piling of discs into small pyramids that have to be knocked down. This game requires irregular, flat shaped potsherds due to being more easily knocked. In other games, where the discs perhaps have to be handled with the foot, are, logically, rounded, polished potsherds preferable (pers. comm., Ajithprasad and Krishnan 2004). Kenoyer (2000:132) mentions a similar piling of discs played by children in today's Pakistan, called 'pittu', with the largest discs placed in the bottom and the smallest on top. In this context, he claims that discs have indeed been found in groups of varying (graduating) sizes at the site of Harappa (a claim which indeed would be interesting to investigate more closely as concerns the assemblage of discs from Bagasra) (Figures 49 and 50).

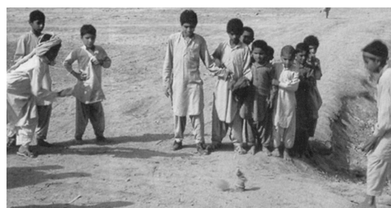


Figure 49. Boys playing pittu at Harappa (after Kenoyer 2000:Figure 7.17).

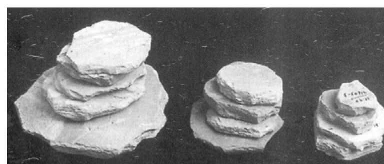


Figure 50. Pottery discs, found in clusters of graduating sizes (after Kenoyer 2000:Figure 7.16).

Hence, the importance of the particular shape of the disc becomes clear. The examples may thus be suggested to suit the differences revealed by the analysis. Discs of a specific shape, but separated into different size intervals, could accordingly be connected to specific games. Perhaps the circular discs may imply a game played by foot, while another kind of game demanded/caused a shape constituted by halves?

Age- and gender regulations can be related to the games. The game with the cashew nuts is for instance usually played by boys under the age of 14 while various square games are rather preferred by girls, or both boys and girls, from a very young age until about 14 (pers. comm., Ajithprasad and Krishnan 2004). The previous discussion of the regulated ball play may therefore again be put in focus; in line with this, the pattern of ordered similarities could be suggested to indicate a management with the discs according to stated regulations dictated both by specific game rules and, in extension, by various age and gender divisions.

At this point, a slight revision of the suggestion above, in connection with cart frames, of possible indications of gendered distinctions may become important. This may follow the statements of more recent gender studies of the dimension of age as necessarily comprehended as an integral part in any gender suggestions (e.g. Gilchrist 1999). Objecting to the traditional, narrow view of binary gender structures in gender archaeology, Gilchrist (1999:89ff) lifts forward various attempts in recent gender studies to include ageing as well. In this connection, she comments the analysis by Sofaer Derevenski of Copper Age burials at a cemetery in today's Hungary. Approaching from the assertion of linking gender with age in gender studies, Sofaer Derevenski focuses both on adult burials' signs of male and female gender differences as on burials of younger individuals. In her concluding proposal of a visible shift over time, from a prevalence of achieved gender towards one of ascribed, she points to important grades and thresholds of age and their connection both to culturally and physiologically gendered age. Although the approach is claimed by Gilchrist as still holding on to the binary structure, she points to its emphasizing of "/…/the tendency for complexity and change in gendered signification, even within a single cemetery." (Gilchrist 1999:92ff). Though specific age thresholds and gender distinctions prevalent at the site at Bagasra are highly unknown, the fluid character implied by the dimension of age may thus reject to all too isolated gendered ascriptions. With the idea of management following stated regulations in line with the simile of the ball play, in prolongation introducing the young to proper (gender) attitudes, this character may rather turn the focus back to the power relations by Foucault. Suggested as items of

various games, the discs become embedded into the immanent power networks that permanently clashes and intermingle with each other according to executed strategies, i.e. the playing with the discs in the games, which are supposed to maintain prevalent positions.

While this suggestion follows in line with the proposal of the cart frames as various expressions of strategies of power regulations, the idea of the discs as being dictated by children and thus as being situated within the realm of a children's world may however add a different dimension to the discussion. The ordered pattern would namely offer to us glimpses of this specific part of the social structure, tentatively possible to approach with the concepts of the adventure mechanism and the world of children, respectively. The utilization of the 'opposite perspective' by use of the idea of the two mechanisms may firstly offer a deepened (though a bit schematic) picture of this world. Departing from the view of it as an unknown culture, Lönnqvist proposes three starting points for its approach:

1. In creating and using their own symbols, children tear down conventional definitions of objects, transform their significances and create own definitions that order them in different ways.
2. As well as adults, children are individuals searching for meaning. Therefore, it is possible to state them as possessing their own culture.
3. Children move in time and space and shape their own territory outside (the control of) the adult world.

These points may according to Lönnqvist be helpful in an attempt to define what separates this culture from the one of the adults (Lönnqvist 1992:80). The traditional toy approach with its emphasis on educational aspects, which to some degree can be suggested as prevalent in the analysis of the cart frames (though from a slightly different point of angle, since the toy object has not been used to study any child-adult relations from an adult point of view but rather has been in focus primarily for the sake of itself) may thus be suggested to be left by now. Analysing the discs with the perspective of the adventure mechanism, the discussion will in contrast be directed towards an elusive but highly essential children's world. What consequently emerges before our eyes is a world of social strategies and mechanisms that structurates social positions existent between children, shaped by principles outside any adult control. Simultaneously, the concept of children's world can be suggested as a way of access to these unknown principles by use of the same theoretical concepts applied to the cart frames. Even though we do not know what exactly may have constituted these, they may with the continued perspective on social aspects tentatively become within reach.

While the regulated pattern of cart frames have been taken to suggest a planned management, the order of the discs may similarly be proposed to imply a conscious manner. Even though a bit vague, a suitable example would be the peculiar feature of similarity in brim thickness, discussed as a possibility in the analysis and which, would it really be the case, must have been obtained through conscious selection of potsherds for the polishing.

Children's world – capital forms – serial practices

While children today generally use their own discs since these may be believed to give extra good luck (pers. comm., Ajithprasad 2004), the discs may express certain amounts of value. This in turn seems to reject to a picture of the items as irregularly spread out, as a child valuing its disc or discs would possibly not spread it or them unconsciously around but strive to handle their possession(s) with care. The concept of capital can with this be emphasized again. Though children may carry different, for example the family's, symbolic capital (as touched upon when discussing cart frames as status strategies for example), they may actively struggle for assets of capital forms that regulate social positions and power relations between children as well. The discs would thus become interacting parts in the creation and recreation of such positions. This further supports the view of the discs as not being irregularly spread out. Simultaneously, this turns the idea of a planned production, dictated by specific tastes and preferences, quite logical. Similar to the distinguishable features of the cart frames, various properties of the discs can be interpreted as quality differences in terms of labour input and thus be proposed to express

differences in taste. One example may be the range of colours, each perhaps signalling a specific meaning and maybe especially searched for among a heap of potsherds. The distribution of bulges may similarly indicate such expressions, or the different shapes. As with the cart frames, the suggestion of social distinctions tentatively becomes especially articulated as the simultaneous existence of similarities can be proposed to hold the differences within a regulated frame.

With the capital concept, lastly, the suggestion of the order to indicate game rules becomes linked to the idea of preferences of specific objects. It can be compared with children's play with marbles, where the play is inseparable from the effort to possess 'proper' marbles.

The world of children is accentuated by Lillehammer (2000:24) to give an active role to the traditionally passive-stated children. Her argument of the potential of the concept to include a spatial dimension of activity may tentatively be taken to connect children's world to the networks of power relations. The spatial potentiality is stressed to be gained since the concept allows a biological and cultural development of children to be linked with the creative process of learning and coping with the world. Focused on cultural transference which leads to the production and reproduction of material culture, the interaction of children with material culture becomes linked to the environment, to cultural traditions, to adults as well as to other children. As an important theoretical tool for the concept, the understanding of the potentialities of children is specifically highlighted, the essence of which being social relations (Lillehammer 2000:20ff). A space thus opened up for both material and immaterial interactions, the focus tentatively links children's world to the previously discussed ideas by microarchaeology. Similar to the former, one could suggest the discs to interact with human agents according to the repetitive pattern of daily practices, with the one exception that these items in their constraining or facilitating capabilities operate within the world of children. Like the cart frames, signs of serial or structurating practices may thus turn visible. One illustrative example may be the spatial distribution of the different shapes, clearly displaying a distinct pattern of ordering that may tell something essential. The relation between measures and shapes, used to illustrate suggested game regulations, may also be seen as a structurating evidence.

The few odd items among the discs may in this connection and similar to the cart frames be stressed to strengthen the regulative character by representing its exceptions. The four discs of different clay types may thus sharpen the point that the majority of discs display the same sort of clay. The two discs of different shapes similarly highlight the exceptionally well suiting of all the others into clearly distinguishable shapes, thus indicating that attempts to ground the discs may have been dictated by prevalent regulations and/or that interactions may have followed similar movements resulting in the same kinds of wear.

In a return to the traditional idea of a number of discs to display different production stages, some of them yet uncompleted, a slightly modified use of the chain of action described by Cornell and Fahlander (2002a:32ff) may be suitable. This can be connected to the emphasis by Choksi (2002:286) that every stage in the life of a vessel tells a story of social significance, in which such things as form or usage may be determined by behaviour patterns of manufacturers and consumers. With this, I would suggest each disc to express a chain of action in itself. Though this is not following that chain of action pointed to by microarchaeology properly, the notion of it may nevertheless contribute to the opening of this rather closed definition. The idea of something as 'unfinished' may thus be suggested as a quite misleading thought in this context. It would rather be more fruitful to comprehend the different shapes as various stages, or links, on the chain of action or life course of the particular disc. Originating from pottery which has been broken or smashed into potsherds, perhaps to become perforated and serve as spindle whorls, tee-to-tums and others, the discs may seem especially well suited to the postulate of the chain since they serve that multitude of functions re-used material may be given and which is only constrained by imagination. While these functions tentatively may exist simultaneously in one and the same object, one may suggest that even if in a so-called

unfinished stage for one purpose, a disc may have been valid for others (for example in games of hopscotch, to contribute to the symbolic capital of the child possessing it, at the same time as perhaps being selected to become a spindle whorl). After all, with the approach which is being outlined here, the idea may in any way turn meaningless. More important is the fact that the disc appears as an active partaker, loaded with value.

Simultaneous patterns

With the suggestion of a children's world, outlined according to the same concepts as used above and hence keeping to the perspective of the social aspect which follows in line with the focus on social relations as stressed by Lillehammer, one may consider what the simultaneity of the patterns of the discs and the cart frames may indicate.

Using the metaphor of fibres and threads presented by microarchaeology, practices carried out by (and thus defining?) children may be suggested to constitute a thread. The differences could thus be taken to indicate different fibres or practices within this thread, being differently regulated. Three lines of demarcation are stressed by Lönnqvist (1992:80) to separate the 'childish' way of acting and thinking from the 'adult' way. Firstly, he calls attention to the difference in sight: children use an inner world in larger extent than adults, which can be comprehended as a specific sort of abstraction. The ordering of objects is secondly claimed to be of multidimensional character among children: the items may transform, may be given additional meanings and so on. Thirdly, this ordering is proposed to contain unexpected moves, in contrast to the more behaviour motivated ordering of the adult.

This may perhaps be illustrated by the difference in spatial distribution with the discs being more spread out than the cart frames, or the suggestion of the discs to produce a larger part of ordered variation. The discs could accordingly indicate a structurating practice of a more allowing character, giving room for both a more extensive distribution as a wider frame of variation possibilities, or of a practice directed by other (more open) borders than those defined by adults. With the discs situated within a children's world, these could imply this practice to be directed by the different way of children to order the world, following the 'childish' sight and ordering described by Lönnqvist. The more clustered, less varied cart frames would rather represent a practice more controlled and interfered by adults.

With the proposal of discs and cart frames to indicate different fibres within a thread, the danger may be noted of equalling them as simplified opposites. This may be particularly emphasized by the complex simultaneity of rebelling and imitating features of children's world, since its social agents act within a range of roles in its interrelation with the adults' world, from proper rebels to copying imitators (Lillehammer 2000:51; Lönnqvist 1992:372ff). Stressing the relation of children and adults as fluid and complex, Lillehammer (2000:51f) points to the difficult question whether the world of children should be regarded as a culture of its own or better as a recreation of the already existing. With the attempt to approach the toy with an opening up of closed entities, a concentration on this appears however quite meaningless. Rather, a specific kind of simultaneity could be suggested when dealing with this world which would tell of the same actions to be interwoven by, seemingly contradictory, rebelling and imitating properties. A children's world beyond the reach of adults may thus not constitute an opposite to those phenomena characterizing an adults' world but would in contrast include them, possibly in such transformed shapes as is stressed by Lönnqvist. Beside the suggestion that the regulated order may tell of different game rules, this could thus possibly indicate something in line with uniform features as well. Since children imitate the world of adults and catch the latter's attitudes, it may tentatively not appear too far-fetched to propose the discs to be given such characters. In a social structure endeavouring standardized forms, children may well imitate a 'standardized thinking'.

When handling children's world, it would perhaps be wise not to intend to outline satisfying answers all too easily. Lönnqvist (1992:374f) particularly accentuates the fact that

objects or messages which are given to children may be received and used in most unexpected ways and not always correlating with the intention of the (adult) giver. While objecting to the standpoint of traditional studies that children in play automatically reproduce what is being expected from them, Lönnqvist stresses the necessity to include a focus on this specific, characterizing principle of children's sphere. Tentatively, this can be further outlined with the microarchaeological emphasis on the metaphor of fibres and threads, since one of the points with this is to highlight the impossibility of any threads to consist of a faultless mixture of fibres. While the fibres may intermingle in several threads and interrupt or change their course, a momentary correlation, within a splitting up of particular fibres, is highlighted. Hence, the threads and fibres display the contradictious nature of social interactions (Cornell & Fahlander 2002a:28f). The above proposed simultaneity as characterizing children's world together with the fluidity of the relation between children and adults may with this become accentuated. Further illustrative examples of this particular complexity could be the shapes of the discs showing up in line with prevalent spatial divisions or the distinct regulations of the bulges both when considering shape and location. A third example could perhaps be derived from the existence of the small shape groups only consisting of two items each.

Simultaneity – change-continuity

But how does a social structure manage to keep together at all, in light of these different worldviews, divergent demarcations and seemingly unsolvable, ongoing collisions?

According to Carle (2003:390, 408ff), Bourdieu stresses that social life exists within ongoing change. The reason why society despite this can continue is that the order emerges *thanks to* its changes. The possibility to recognize the social structure at the same time as this is subdued to changes is because individuals contribute to the survival of it through their actions, within which the social structure is expressed. The capital concept is therefore claimed as essential for the understanding of reproduction and change of social positions since it works as an ongoing struggle on both individual and institutional levels for symbolic values that maintain and transform social structure. A particular mobility appears simultaneously, not acting as changes proper but rather as adjustments between capital forms. While the past can be seen as accumulated capital, this particular principle for continuity and recognizable change is further articulated by the past's active engagement in the present through a reactivation of practices similar in structure to the existing (Bourdieu 1990:54ff).

This highlights an important link of children's world to the question of change versus continuity of the social structure, which can be illustrated here by the simultaneity of differences and similarities. The study thus tentatively enters an area were children indeed play a key role. In connection with this, a claim by Lillehammer may be noted of the importance to recognize the essential link between children and change in archaeology and the need to ask how children contribute to change and continuity, stating that "/…/ society cannot be perpetuated without children/.../." (Lillehammer 2000:19).

A focus on change and continuity can further be suggested to come forward with the microarchaeological arguments. The serial concept is thus stressed to avoid the traditional idea of simultaneous change in various aspects of social life since this follows as a consequence of closed, homogenous entities which the concept in contrast offers an opening. Focusing in particular on the interrelations of fibres and threads in the mentioned metaphor, Cornell and Fahlander (2002a:25ff, 36) claim that dynamic patterns become revealed, created by changes occurring at various levels and not necessarily simultaneously.

The focus of differences and similarities between cart frames and discs can with this be argued to concentrate on interrelations indicating the character of change-continuity of the social structure in question, revealing essential details concerning various social aspects. Considering children in light of change and continuity of the social structure and acting in accordance with a children' s territory, an accumulation by children of symbolic capital, modulating social positions regulating power relations between them as well as social positions defined by their fluid relations to adults, may thus be a key point. Following the outline by

Farge mentioned in the beginning, the particular fluidity of children's world may be suggested to point to an especially marked mobility of both of these kinds of social positions, probably implying adjustments and changes more rapid and unexpected than within the adults' world. The simultaneity of cart frames and discs, understood as reflecting a children's world, could hence be seen as a pattern of adjustments that *both* transform *and* maintain social order. The ordered variations of the discs could for example be proposed to indicate such adjustments that rebel against and imitate the prevalent. The particular features on an amount of discs may for example be mentioned as they both single items out as cluster them together while sharing the same kind of features. The types of shape only containing two discs each may also be pointed to. Perhaps did they consist of specific meaning which was meant to connect or separate them from existing features in the adult world? The seven discs that lack any slip can further be suggested if proposing the lack in itself to point at specific symbolic significance.

The reproduction of social life would thus not only occur in an adult-directed introduction of children to prevalent social structures. In the reading by Butler of the outline of the body and soul within the power-knowledge interrelation by Foucault (Butler 1999:172), the inside-outside opposition becomes disrupted since the soul or the interior (interpreted as culture as well) rather turns up as a surface signification, inscribed on the body. While this reversal appears to emphasise a kind of vertical character undermining the idea of separated inside- and outside levels, it would tentatively object to the idea of an introduction projected from above onto children, penetrating a passive surface of theirs to form a growing interior, since this thus cannot exist. Another statement by Foucault (according to Martin *et al.* 1988:9ff) turns more useful: though freedom exists in that individuals may act in a variety of ways, the way of acting is claimed as linked to the way of thinking, which in turn is linked to tradition. Thus, the 'childish' way of coping with the world may be suggested to conform to changes in which prevalent attitudes can be recognized. Various examples display for us similarities in the two patterns. These may accordingly be proposed to illustrate a fusion of the adventure mechanism's way of acting with the one of the mirror mechanism. The emphasis by both cart frames and discs of the western area inside the wall (IW) serves as an illustrative example. Four of the discs just mentioned for their lacking of slip are for instance to be found here. Was the area perhaps regarded by both 'childish' eyes and children's eyes directed by adults as a spatial realm for variations and peculiar features? Cart frames as well as discs offer a quite stable character on the whole to this area. Was it an area particularly overwhelmed by children? Although this may appear a bit simplified and we cannot know this for certain, the objects can be proposed to express structurating practices of similar character, maybe creating and re-creating some spatial differences in a similar way. The amount of discs constituted by halves in the southern area outside the wall (OS) may perhaps evoke an idea of this area as a location for manufacturing of the discs as well (the form of halves thus viewed as a production stage). May potsherds have been collected and grounded under some kind of supervision? A specialized way of producing the discs has not been particularly discussed, but the thought may in any way be mentioned. In this connection, the implication of a link of this area to the northeast corner inside the wall (INE) would tentatively turn of interest. However, as I would like to point out, it would certainly be more fruitful for a continued discussion on this if not solely equalling the southernmost area with its suggested pottery manufacture but comprehend it as expressing other social dimensions as well.

Power relations within children's world may consequently act as a knotting together of this world into a next generation that will be able to shoulder the – different, yet the same – social structure.

Widening the concept of fibres and threads, Cornell and Fahlander (2002a:27f) add the rope to the metaphor. This is clustered by threads to represent so-called structurating positivities that extend the practices in time and space. Sometimes materialised but mostly working without the social agencies being actively aware of them, they are of a more durable quality, like, for example, the bipolar sex/gender-principle, operating within the context of structurating practices. Thus, acting as a seemingly immutable element through various

practices that maintain its existence, one may suggest an extension of the simile made of children as threads while as well comprehend them as a structurating positivity. Adding this to the power-knowledge relation as emphasized by Foucault, prevalent in every social structure but specifically formed by (within) each, the term 'children' can be viewed as representing a free-flying, immanent force, as independent of space and time as the power concept. While in the previous part of the discussion the simultaneity of differences and similarities of cart frames was equalled with the simultaneity of the individual-structure phenomena, the discussion may thus suggest a further step to be taken by now. The simultaneity of differences and similarities of cart frames and discs may hence be proposed to represent the complex simultaneity of change and continuity within the social structure.

4. Conclusion: Toys as demarcation trespassers

Toys or not?
Is it possible by now to conclude if the cart frames and discs *really* represent toys? Let us consider some points, or circumstances, that may appear dubious to the reader:

The regular order
If keeping to the thought of toys (in particular when interpreted as toys made by children themselves) as being irregularly scattered, a viewable order would indeed object to a toy identification. Since a significant number of discs, for example, are found in the southernmost part of the site, suggested for kiln and pottery production, these items could possibly be proposed as some kind of spill products too.

Modern reconstruction
It is important to remember that the traditional picture of the complete toy cart, equipped with wheels, vertical struts, a wooden shaft, bullocks and the like, is a creation of modern hands (see Figure 46 again). A consideration of the unproblematic cart reconstruction could thus tentatively gain the discussion: "Bullocks would have pulled carts. Many clay toys from Harappan sites represent either cart-frames or wheels, and we can tell that the carts were often two-wheeled/…/." (Ratnagar 2001:56). This circumstance may accordingly open for alternative possibilities: the struts may for example have looked different, or other kinds of animals may have pulled the carts. Though this study has not included any analysis regarding possible contextual connections between wheels and cart frames, it may be mentioned that no general statements of this kind can be done in case of the cart frame assemblage from Bagasra, since cart frames and wheels have not necessarily been found in close vicinity of each other (pers. comm., Ajithprasad 2004).

Details of construction
Are the carts properly equipped for being played with? One could shortly consider the way by which the shaft may have been fastened into the frame. If too loosely inserted in the shaft hole, it would probably easily come loose again when pulling the cart. It may of course have been fastened by use of a padding of small sticks or others. Another possible solution could perhaps have consisted of a construction similar to the one used for bottle ships: that is, a little cross-bar may have been bent back by the insertion, after which it may have straightened itself up when pulling in the shaft, acting thus as a 'stopper'. It would tentatively be interesting to study this in detail. If particular marks would appear inside the shaft hole, this could be suggested to indicate a more complicated manufacture and hence lead discussions as to aspects of value and specialization further.

One may similarly consider the circumstance that a number of the analysed cart frames of solid type appear quite narrow in width. Based on measures that have been taken of traces of cart ruts found preserved in the streets of the ancient settlement of Harappa (1.6 metres in

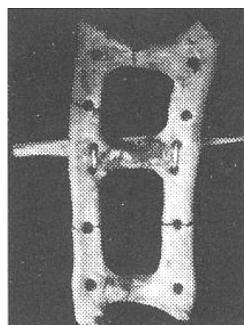


Figure 51. Cart frame of perforated type, depicted with axle-tree fastened to the frame with help of strings (after Sharma 2003:Hand List VI B: 246).

width; Kenoyer 2000:89), Ratnagar assumes the Harappan cart to have been of quite large body compared to the similar carts of today (Ratnagar 2001:56). If so, a significant number of the selected models analysed in this work could perhaps be suggested not to follow the full-sized carts' measure relations. In consequence, this naturally gives these carts a limited loading possibility, in turn perhaps doubting their use for proper play.

The construction for holding the axle-tree may last but not least be mentioned. As the reader probably has noted, a hole for an axle-tree has not been found on any cart frames in the analysed assemblage. As is to be seen on a pictured cart frame provided with an axle-tree, the six small holes extending over the middle of a majority of the solid type of frames could possibly be suggested as meant for strings to hold the axle-tree (Figure 51). Another explanation could be that an extra clay construction with a hole, long since broken off, was added separately to the frame (such construction is partly to be seen in Figure 46), a detail which would turn the cart quite fragile (pers. comm., Ajithprasad 2004).

Functional bias

The above stated points, describing a toy cart which perhaps not appears too well suited for play, may tentatively emphasize the biased focus on functional aspects, noted earlier as a typical criterion when identifying toys. This is for example revealed in the alternative label 'hopscotch' for the discs as well as in the focus on the ability of the toy cart to be pulled. One may in this connection recall the objection by Mode of the view of cart models as toys. According to Ardeleanu-Jansen, Mode claims this idea to derive from the thought of the items as being easy for children to move (Ardeleanu-Jansen 2002:213). Rather relating the items to the ritual sphere, as was mentioned in the beginning, Mode calls attention to the character of miniatures of day-to-day utensils as models, mirroring full-sized objects. As he points out, such kind of models were in use in various early cultures while regarded as loaded with ritual-magical content. Based among others on comparisons with *Rathas*, ceremonial processions to be seen above all in South India today, where a figure of a god or goddess of sometimes huge proportions is carried around on a cart, he suggests both the cart models and the animals on wheels from the Harappan sphere to be miniature models of similar processions. In this context, it is further mentioned the emphasis by Mode of the deeper symbolic meaning of the wheel, understood in traditional Indian thinking within the concept of *chakra*. That is, the representation of the wheel or circle of the infinity, symbolizing the cyclical creation of the world from chaos to order which is mirrored in the temple cart procession's yearly return, in the cyclical course of the day, the birth of human and so forth. Comparing similar models from contemporary culture complexes in among others Middle East and Mesopotamia, Ardeleanu-Jansen points to the gap thus arisen between researchers which claim either the toy- or the ritual interpretation (Ardeleanu-Jansen 1993:182ff).

Ritual qualities

Should the cart frames hence be regarded as models of ritual character? The results of the preservation variable may in this connection be recalled. As noted, this displays a striking majority of solid cart frames representing front pieces and, to a large part, corners of the right side. The lack of shaft hole pieces of the perforated items appears at the same time as a marked contrast. It is also striking that preservation features of the solid objects can be linked to other qualities to conform to the ordered pattern. The fact of only one item showing up as complete may be noted (while remembering that this item is actually of broken appearance too). It would be interesting to discuss whether the solid items may have been destroyed by accident,

following a particular way of play, or may have been purposely broken in line with specific (ritualistic?) regulations which mostly left to us the front pieces. Could they perhaps be seen as a kind of votive gift? Should, in that case, a separation of the solid and the perforated cart frames be assumed, leading to different interpretations? As previously touched upon, as toy/ritualistic suggestions of items are for a large part contextually determined, Ardeleanu-Jansen (1993:184) accentuates among others the fact that cart models connected with Sumerian and Akkadian temple processions are mainly to be associated with temple areas. While this is not the case for the Harappan cart frames (and thus may be proposed as one of the reasons for identifying them as toys), ritualistic suggestions may perhaps indeed be questioned. However, since on one hand the analysis undermines the idea of an 'irregular scattering around' of the items and, on the other hand, Harappan edifices firmly pointing at a religious function are highly scarce, while cult practices have been suggested to have been of rather loose, 'open-air' character, a separation of domestic/ritual contexts within the Harappan sphere may supposedly have looked totally different from the Mesopotamian realm. The ritual connection may thus not be ruled out completely.

Standardized features

As signs of standardization tend to be ascribed to highly regarded objects and/or trade items, of which toys traditionally and à priori are excluded, indices of uniformity and standardization could perhaps be taken to question the toy identification of the items.

Consequently, it cannot be stated with certainty that the cart frames and discs *either* constitute toys *or* something outside the toy realm. This may thus seem to conform to the commonly stated toy obstacle, which can be conveniently illustrated by a selection of objects from the Bagasra artefact assemblage. The reader will recognize the cart frame and the disc in the centre. These are surrounded by both toy interpreted objects as well as items of other identifications or of too elusive character to be classified; the difficult task to distinguish turns obvious (Figure 52). Is accordingly the toy concept indeed to be seen as an insoluble problem, leading us but into a blind alley?



Figure 52. A selection of objects from the Bagasra artefact assemblage. What distinguishes the toys from other objects?

Avoidance of the toy obstacles

Roots of the problem: constructed demarcations

The simultaneous contradiction of ordering and irregularity among the discs, displayed by the measure variable, may particularly highlight the emphasis throughout this study on the complex character of the phenomena of simultaneity on the whole. This in turn awakens a fundamental doubt to the above standpoint, leading to a consideration of it from a different angle. The focus may by influence from the last variable be put on the particular either/or character of the question 'is a specific thing a toy or not', which seems to direct the researcher into well demarcated categories, turning any attempts in front of a range of impossible questions. Aiming to find out if something can be identified as a toy or not, the researcher first needs to answer such issues as: on what grounds did the specific social structure in question regard an individual as a child? Was a clear separation between adults and children existent? Did a manufacture of material preliminary meant for children occur? Due to the lack of answer, the attempt soon hits

a blind alley, while the toy approach with necessity turns into an impossible task. This may however be suggested to depend heavily on approaching of the object via the demarcations. As mentioned in the beginning of the thesis, this naturally turns the matters difficult when it comes to unknown social structures. This can be connected to the claim by Lillehammer (2000:21) that, since traditional studies on children are usually focused on socialisation aspects while starting from the view of children as imitating adults, these tend to follow established categories such as 'work', 'play' and others. In turn, this goes in my view in line with a dualistic way of thinking that according to some researchers is claimed as especially significant for the Western system of thought (e.g. Minh-ha 1999:225). It is argued by Tesfahuney (2001:195) that the dualistic ordering of the world into asymmetric oppositions may be comprehended as the very foundation on which the superior position of the West is built and maintained. The imitating child may particularly illustrate this. Automatically, the mirror-children are put in a confronting opposite to the different facets of life, which therefore with necessity become properties of the adult world, producing opposites like children-adults, work-play, tradition-innovation, toys-ritual items and so on. A brief consideration on some of these may however offer a significant loosening of their strict positions:

The work-play opposite

This consists, according to some scholars, of rather culture-specific roots. Play as something unqualifiedly positively loaded is objected to by Sutton-Smith (according to Lönnqvist 1992:71), who claims it a consequence of Western economic need to separate spare time from, and opposed to, work. To this, Lönnqvist adds the emergence of the educational system, which is stressed to have excluded play from the normality and seriousness of life. In line with this, the point by Goodman is mentioned that since the separation of work and play is of Western origin, it turns inappropriate to apply on non-industrial societies where play turns to work and vice versa (Lönnqvist 1992:67ff, 370). Grimm (2000:64f) calls attention to the emphasis by the concept of LPP of a blurred work-play opposition for apprentices since they, contrary to a Western view, are simultaneously engaged in essential productive activities, like cleaning up, making fire and so on.

The tradition-innovation opposite

This becomes apparent in a number of prevalent researches on children and toys. As noted in the beginning, toys have for example been connected to conservative cultures but playthings linked to innovative cultures. In the review by Lönnqvist, an amount of similar connections appears: a conservative culture is for example proposed to lead to stricter play rules, an innovative culture to changeable rules, a modern culture to a focus on prestige and a traditional culture to a concentration on ascribed play (Lönnqvist 1992:70 ff).[6] This opposite can be found in child approaches within or near the realm of archaeology too, like, for instance, in Greenfield's study (2000:72ff) on two generations of children learning the art of weaving in a Mexican village. In her aim to test the idea of socialisation to be dependant from historical development, she ends in the conclusion that the first generation keeps to informal education and existing rules while the second creates new ideas and patterns in line with the change of society to an entrepreneur character. Similarly, studies on children approaching from the established mirror perspective and/or the well-used age- and childhood criteria can be suggested to keep to this distinction. By studying children's burials separated by time or space, for example, there seem to be a tendency to point to a difference between the burial assemblages more or less in line with the tradition-innovation dualism.[7]

In his autobiographic, novelistic account of travelling in Afghanistan during the 1950's, Myrdal (2003:65f) reflects upon the way of creating the last layer of mosaic in the last stage of construction of the great mosque in Herat. Although he concludes the creation process to be

[6] For a deepened discussion on this, see Sutton-Smith 1986.

[7] For an illustrative example of this opposite, the analysis by Hawcroft and Dennell (2000) concerning the Neanderthal stone tool knapping may be recalled. See also Janik 2000.

framed by tradition, he nevertheless stresses the mosaic master as not being limited by this but rather free in his shaping due to the fact that he is situated within the tradition. Thus, the latter turns to the very prerequisite for the creativity of the master to exist at all. This reflection may tentatively be used to question the (universal) idea of tradition and innovation as separated opposites. The dichotomy can be suggested as another construction of Western way of thinking, as a result of the idea of innovation as one of Western culture's cornerstones, accordingly turning tradition its necessary and incompatible opposite.

The ritualistic-profane opposite
This can shortly be questioned as a universal function too by use of the emphasis by Cornell and Fahlander (2002a:26), in their microarchaeological approach, of the diversity of the social world, composed as it is of various elements that turns it impossible to distinguish equal, separable entities, such as 'religion', in all social forms.

Due to the tentatively quite ethnocentric character of the separations, blurred child- or toy demarcations – that is, *unknown* demarcations – may thus be suggested to automatically lead to the impossibility of adults outside the Western realm to produce something primarily meant for children.

In this connection, it is interesting to note the reflection by Lönnqvist of the invisibility of the Western child, seen as a consequence of the distinction – with simultaneous marginalizing – of it. While the child is stressed to turn the more invisible, the toy, highlighted by its educational and pedagogical aspects, is prophesised to become even more visible (Lönnqvist 1992:369). With this statement, the ethnocentric view indeed appears a bit awkward.

To the claim that the traditional view of play and toys is biased since it only depicts children as fulfillers of adults' expectations of them (Lönnqvist 1992:28), the opposite demarcations can be suggested to be significant contributors. They turn children, and thus their material, into passive beings convenient to sort into closed entities. The traditional toy definition may therefore be understood in line with the distinction of children to adults, automatically turning belongings of children unserious and meaningless. The idea of a marginalized opposite thus turns responsible for the establishment of typical toy 'criteria'. Objects tending to appear irregularly scattered around, to dispose qualities appealing to pure function (like wheels), to appear clumsy, without value and/or displaying meaningless features (that is, fitting into the nature of the meaningless child), may thus 'risk' being classified as toys.

While questioning the relevance of the opposites, claiming them as blurred, for non-Western cultures, it may possibly appear as if this thesis keeps to traditional conclusions of the toy concept as inappropriate when studying non-Western social structures. It may resemble arguments of various researchers, presented in the beginning, addressing several obstacles in such attempts. Contrary to prevailing thought, the study intends however to insist upon a keeping to the toy concept. Rather than letting blurred demarcations become a hindrance, the idea in itself of the demarcations and the striving to keep to them is suggested as the problem, turning the traditional, isolated toy definition as the true cause to trouble. The problem may thus be proposed partly as a construction, entangled in its own culture and constituted by the character of the question of 'being a toy or not' with its strict division. If I would abandon the toy concept, would I not at the same time admit my own inability to realize the influence of the particular cultural setting I am situated in?

Avoiding the problem: summary of alternative approach
Rather than approaching the entire toy, as a homogenous totality, this thesis may have avoided the traditional obstacles waiting in the entering of the toy realm thanks to its use of the aspect's perspective by Asplund (1970), and its choice of focus on the toy's social role. That is, while selecting a specific aspect, the analysis may proceed without considering other dimensions of the object in question which may be more difficult to approach. This may especially suit toy interpreted material, opening for the study to continue without the need to consider if and how

the cart may have been given to the child, if it may have functioned as a gift, what kind of child it was meant for and other unanswerable questions. One may in this context call attention to a tendency of traditional toy studies to include the totality of the toy – with the natural result of defeat soon to come. This is probably to be seen in terms of the idea of the toy concept as an enclosed entity, ready to be picked out among other, clearly demarcated entities.

By use of the capital concept by Bourdieu, a further deconstruction of pre-defined categories can be suggested. With this, it becomes possible to go past unfruitful notions of toys as worthless and irregularly spread out while rather recognizing the toy material as essential partakers of social life, in the shaping and reshaping of social positions that maintain social structure. Comprehended as expressing particular symbols transformed to the young, meant to introduce them to the prevailing structure, the meaningfulness of the material turns further strengthened by the application of the concept of reproduction to the displayed similarities: the material becomes situated within an ordered management, of which the mere functional property constitutes one of many integrated parts. With the active receiving and modulating of 'proper' symbolic values by children, discussed as prevalent regardless of way of education, the concept may moreover be proposed to bridge the work-play opposite. This perspective may thus be suggested to invite toy material too to the realm of standardization efforts. The doubts presented above of toys to be standardized may in contrast be seen in accordance with the projection of the contemporary Western idea of the marginalized child onto the past, bounded into a sphere of irregular (play) behaviour.

The micropower by Foucault, immanently existing at all levels of society, does not exclude children but embraces them as a necessary ingredient: what would become of the movement of the force of power without children's existence? Handling the simultaneity of differences and similarities and the subtle character with the Foucaultian power networks and the specific freedom noted by Bourdieu, the very simultaneity and subtlety can be suggested as evidences of the complexity of social relations. This would indeed turn attempts to interpret the material in line with simplified divisions unnatural. By turning the toys into social partakers in power regulations, the gap between the oppositely situated becomes rather reduced. With the outlines of Foucault, one may propose the similarity to be seen within the difference, or vice versa, while the freedom of Bourdieu can be comprehended within the lack of independence.

While being especially designed as a social theory for archaeological use, the outlines of microarchaeology constitutes a promising continuing of the study. With the claim of these to recognize traces of performed daily practices, the visible patterns of material remains becomes connected to the objects' proposed social aspects. The emphasis of the serial concept is used so as to grasp as careful as possible clusters of social agents (like children) while the objection to closed entities with the striving to an operative openness indeed becomes useful since it invites to a further dissolving of categories, essential for the intention of the thesis to persist with the toy concept. The objection to the closeness may in this context be applied to the well demarcated categories, binding the toy into uselessness.

Emphasized by its simultaneous differences and similarities, the social perspective enables the material to be interpreted in line with the individual-structural matter. By including a further dynamic dimension embraced by the concept of a children's world with the arguments by Lönnqvist and Lillehammer respectively, the alternative approach finally enters the realm and key question regarding change versus continuity within the social structure. A bridging of opposite categories can be proposed once again to appear by the claim by Bourdieu of changes to be seen within continuity while other phenomena may rather be comprehended as adjustments maintaining the existing, conveniently illustrated by Myrdal's observation of the mosaic work and resulting in the tradition-innovation division as rather simplified.

The somewhat schematic division between the mirror- and the adventure mechanism of this study may perhaps be criticized. It would of course have been possible to discuss the cart frames from an adventure's point of view as well, and locate the discs within reach of the adults' world too. The perhaps somewhat exaggerated partition should however be seen as an analytical tool for making the statement more distinct, intended to present as comprehensive as

possible an alternative route. As previously touched upon, the focus differs moreover from a general mirror approach by not being directed on a search for the child through its toy, but rather on the toy in itself.

Useful strategies: summary of openings and breaks

Study of details

The mutual, detailed study of a small amount of items may be highlighted as essential for the thesis and its intention of focusing not on the wholeness of the toy but on an aspect of it. This leads to distinguishing the objects from each other and breaking up an otherwise homogenous mass, which, by traditional approaches, mostly seems to be solely compared with outside phenomena. The individual items (the reader may for example remember the fragment with the shaft hole among the perforated cart frames, the white-squared of the solid items, the two egg-shaped examples of the discs) would probably not at all have come to light, would the thesis not have embarked on an analysis of details. The striving to an opening as embraced by the claims of microarchaeology would therefore tentatively gain from a detailed study on a finite amount of items, as has being done here. This seems at the same time to require from the researcher the courage to approach the seemingly – and à priori reinforced – chaotic and splintered. One may however simultaneously question if there exist a 'splintering' at all or if it is only constituted by one's own inability to understand its (the material, its spatial distribution etc.) significance?

Loosening of links to gender perspectives

The suggestion made in the beginning of cart frames possibly expressing (male) gender signals could simultaneously be doubted as too simplified. With the incorporation of the claim of recent gender studies of including ageing in course of the discussion, together with the broadening of interpretation dimensions of the items, one may suggest this to turn a bit speculative since there are no clues whatsoever of the constitution of gender roles during Harappan time. One may consider the emphasis by modern gender studies of such phenomena as gender border crossings and multiple gender (e.g. Baker 1997)[8]; Lesick (1997:35) suggests it to be comprehended as a tripartite system, in which the first class is constituted by 'childhood' due to the gender ambiguity of this life stage, while Lillehammer (2000:24) maintains a cultural theory of ageing, arguing it as necessary when fronting the fluid and complex character of relations between children and adults. In this context, one could however suggest a further step to be seen in the claim by Mayall (2002:20, 27) of a notion on 'generationing'. Based on her view on children as primarily constituting a minority group, she stresses this concept to emphasize the relational processes whereby children become defined as children and acquire their characteristics. This tentatively appears more suitable for the specific perspective of this thesis. Lillehammer points to the notice of a specific archaeology of children to be regarded as a strategic part of women's resistance to domination (Lillehammer 2000:17). However, with the chosen focus of social interaction, the relevance of any links connecting children preliminarily to women, regardless in what purpose and undoubtedly following traditionally drawn demarcations, could be questioned as artificial. The study therefore objects to any limiting connections still existing in research between children and women. With its chosen perspective, it simultaneously suggests more dynamic and diversified connections to open up which may reach beyond sometimes quite confined gender focused research fields.

Break of the link toys-children

The study agrees with the statement by Lönnqvist (1992:369) that the toy deserves to be viewed in a larger context than the commonly established. Therefore, the link of toys to children may be suggested as a further obstacle which reduces the dimensions of the toy concept. As has been emphasized in course of discussion, in being children's plaything, the toy expresses

[8] For a similar emphasis concerning the Harappan realm in particular, see Clark 2003.

various social phenomena – and this is the primary point. The item reaches into different levels of the social structure and can hence contribute to various inquiries of the past, not necessarily directed towards children.

Enlarged dimensions

In-between-roles: summary of a widened toy concept

As was proposed in the beginning of the study on a widening of the toy concept, the study has thus illustrated an opening up of this alternative way to the dimensions of the toy that usually, as I would put it, are hidden behind the demarcations. The idea of visible and simultaneous chains formed by ordered but subtle regulations could in this context be taken to offer ways 'in between', to fill up the emptiness visualized between the two opposite poles by addressing a multitude of simultaneous meanings and purposes. This accordingly follows in line with the striving by microarchaeology to keep to the multiple information "/…/to avoid 'killing' the object by all too narrow classificatory and exclusive schemes." (Cornell & Fahlander 2002a:32f).

One may further propose these nameless chains to open up for deepened analysis of the criterion of function by their simultaneous emphasis on ways of proper usage (which, perhaps contrary to preconceptions, not appears satisfactorily covered by this criterion) and necessary incorporation of symbolic considerations. Recalling the proposed fragility of the toy cart, for example, could the items be suggested rather to have been handled as stationary models (pers. comm., Ajithprasad 2004), not meant for play at all? If so, they could perhaps be discussed as specific containers, or, if models meant for children, possibly 'markers' for particular events. If speculating further on this subject, one could perhaps assume them to have served as a kind of large-sized game pieces or the like. One may in this context recall the mentioning by Gilchrist (1999:96) of the specific, earlier toy interpreted doll figurines from Ancient Athens which more recently have been suggested as linked to a cultic sphere, to female health, playing a role in initiating the girl to her future adulthood. Contrary to changing a toy identification of an object to, for example, a ritualistic, however, I would thus rather insist upon the possibility to keep to the toy notion even after having proposed a 'serious' quality of the thing in question. In this connection, the objection by Lönnqvist can be noted to the simplified standpoint in, for example, educational studies that solely divides the toy into either a 'good' or a 'bad' quality. In contrast, he claims the need to open up for a broadened view of the toy as an object attributed to a range of expressions of meaning, stretching far beyond educational and instrumental perspectives (Lönnqvist 1992:369). In fact, one can suggest several 'in between' roles for toys to exist: one illustrative example may be the *Schultüte* in today's Germany, a giant cone filled with sweets and toys and offered to a child entering its first day of the first year of school. Another example, returning to Lönnqvist, may be taken from a particular doll at the Toy Museum in Helsinki that once was given the name 'Mum' by its motherless owner (Lönnqvist 1992:369). It would be equally impossible to determine the former as *either* a bunch of toys *or* a symbolic life stage marker, as concluding the latter as *just* a toy. The items of this study could consequently be seen from a highly symbolic point of view, as objects of particular events or (life cycle?) rituals at the same time as still being recognized within the toy realm.

Considering the cart frames, one could in this context recall the analogies made with the full-sized carts in use by farmers today. According to Ratnagar (2001:56f), the full-sized carts believed to have existed during Harappan times are traditionally pointed at as farmer's carts while the economic system is thought mostly to have depended on river transport. While suggesting useful terms of economic value for pre-market systems, she simultaneously calls attention to the peculiar rarity of ships occurring in paintings and figurines, since 'cultural significance' of various phenomena is noted by her as a useful criteria for economic value, besides labour input and others (Ratnagar 2002:93f). She further states that the carts of today are said able to cope with quite bumpy roads (Ratnagar 2001:56). One may thus perhaps suggest them as having had a role to play in connection with some kind of trade as well? Their

ability to cope with quite uneven ground must have been an advantage. In that case, this would lead to interesting consequences for the toy carts, perhaps implying them to express symbols of trade, travel or the like. On the other hand, though, this may be questioned by the pointing by Kenoyer (2004:92) to the lack of proper (far-reaching) roads during Harappan times. This, as Kenoyer continues, may have made long distance transportations of goods overland quite impossible. However, as is becoming emphasized throughout his account on the Harappan cart with the aim to put its significance in front, it would probably be equally wrong to automatically place the full-sized cart in some kind of 'simple' connection with 'just farming'. One example may be its age, significance and development into different models up to the marked variety of the Classical Harappan period, the oldest model carts found at Harappa going back to the Ravi phase, around 3500 BC (Kenoyer 2004:90). An important aspect pointed to in the article is the essential fields of use for the carts; thus, while the closed (here solid) type of cart is suggested useful for heavy loadings like stone or storage vessels and the open (here perforated) framed type may have carried firewood, straw and the like, the carrying capacity of the carts are furthermore emphasized in connection with the building of the impressive brick walls and structures of the Harappan cities (Kenoyer 2004:93, 101). Though the question of any involvement of the cart in trade may remain open, these circumstances could thus nevertheless indicate deepened dimensions of significance for the intended purposes and managements of the toy carts.

Principle of vagueness: summary of toy definition

The widened toy concept requires though the avoidance of a too narrowed toy definition. I have deliberately not touched upon this subject too much, striving not to narrow the entry whereby a 'killing' of the toy would have been likely. If recalling the examples noted in the beginning of researches on children in archaeology producing quite traditional conclusions despite intensions to depart from alternative perspectives, it seems that being too determined in definition would risk a too simplified picture.

As the reader has noticed, and despite being heavily debated by researchers, the study assumes the traditional strand of thought that presumes a quite universal possibility of adults manufacturing material primary meant as toys for children. This is partly due to the intention to depart from the traditional view of the objects to see what comes out of it. Partly, it results from personal doubts as to the universality of the opposite opinion. Hence, it follows the thought of this idea as not appearing too far-fetched, particularly when dealing with such an advanced social structure as the Harappan. With such complex and sophisticated ordering, it would seem too risky to allow oneself to neglect those on whose shoulders this ordering will be passed on. This has thus resulted in the idea that a conscious conforming of children to the prevalent social structure as well as an organised manufacturing of materials meant for them may be quite plausible. This perhaps unproblematic departure may however be further strengthened with the more recent toy definitions in the back, focusing on its role in creating meaningfulness – indeed turning it to an immanent phenomenon of enough dimensions to assume it of quite universal existence, as well as 'worth' a consideration.

The cautious picturing of the toy throughout the study may be suggested to follow in line with the claim by Lönnqvist of a wide but vague definition. Not being able to conclude anything more specific due to time- and space limitations and the subject's pioneering character, the study has, by use of the microarchaeological attempt not to escape from the complexity of the openness but to hold to it, hence strived to keep to the very vagueness.

The problem with the toy concept thus disappears since the closed entities, on which the problem depends, anyway are not what are being searched for. With the focus on patterns of ordered differences and similarities that can tell about human actions, it accordingly becomes possible to 'use' the concept.

Advantages of the toy concept

For various reasons, one could suggest that archaeological research would gain from including the toy concept:

Visibility of children's world and transition emphasis

As noted in the research presentation, social theory has been suggested fruitful in archaeological approaches on children. Sofaer Derevenski (2000a:9f) stresses for example this focus in her demand for a linking of body to material culture. Arguing that social life is not solely constructed of meanings but by materials as well, she asserts the extension of the body into the material culture, in turn resulting in a blurred demarcation. The focus, she concludes, should therefore be directed towards the creation of material resources of structures of practice. Since her proposal touches the microarchaeological outlines used in this study, the thesis could on one hand be suggested to follow close to recent approaches. On the other, however, the significant difference of the chosen focus of this study must be emphasized as it, contrary to the majority of recent attempts, is not primarily directed towards children but towards the concept of the toy.

Focused on how social structures manage to continue despite changes, using the idea of individuals in their daily actions to constitute this structure, the opening up of the terms 'children' and 'toys', result in the former to appear as an essential force irrespective of definitions (be it age, as is the definition of today, be it capability, personality or what else), on whose interactive engagement the proceeding of the social structure is dependant. While the latter, as the material remains of this 'play- and imagination – directed force', hence constitutes the traces of this interactivity by which archaeology may find it, one may suggest the demanding but promising children's world to become within reach (turning questions such as whether adults have manufactured playthings for their children or not irrelevant). A focus on this interactivity, that is, the toys, accordingly turns a most inspiring starting point.

This alternative approach offers the two advantages that, firstly, children can be perceived as children – as future grown-ups, they cannot tell of that special change-continuity character – at the same time as their role in the continuation of the social structure is highlighted. The dynamic transition 'from children to adults' thus becomes pinpointed. The second advantage is that the approach is not explicitly telling of a study 'on children'. With this, children may perhaps become more thoroughly intermixed with their social surroundings. This may thus be suggested to open up to a perspective that will include more social dimensions than the proposed field of skill acquisition and children as partaking producers manage. Though departing from an interactive participation perspective, this field seems nevertheless to result in a study 'on children', as well as perhaps contain a small risk of treating children as not what they are but as adults-in-being, perhaps even subdued to the dividing tradition-innovation perspective. Tentatively, this becomes even more accentuated by the deliberate avoidance of the toy concept. The approach suggested by this thesis could therefore possibly constitute an expansion of, or supplement to, the apprentice- and acquisition perspective.

Rejection of simple divisions and highlighting of the simultaneity of change – continuity

As remains of children's social interactivity, the toy concept contributes to past social structures not becoming simplified divisions of higher-lower, actor-receiver and the like, since the toy materials are suggested as traces of daily practices expressing social strategies interacting on multiple levels. The concept rather directs the focus on the structure's simultaneous change-continuity character since the items are proposed to indicate the repetitive pattern of those social agents that particularly represent this simultaneity. In her emphasis on the use of social theory, Lillehammer (2000:19) claims the advantage of analysing children in relation to the change-continuity matter; with this, she argues, society's reactions of the new may become possible to interpret.

The regulated patterns of the analysis may thus be proposed as significant contributors to the insight of the social structure of the settlement at Bagasra. Considering for example the somewhat unexpected results of the spatial distribution of the items, with the wall dividing the settlement in mind, various striking factors can be highlighted. One is the clear separation of the solid and the perforated cart frames, another the linking by the cart frames of one of the inside areas with one of the outside areas as well as the simultaneous pointing to a subtle or contradictious character, revealing a picture that indeed differs from the interpretations based on the remains of craft activities which more clearly point towards a difference between the inside and the outside areas. A third intriguing factor, however, could be suggested from the connection displayed by the discs, indeed implying a slight inside/outside separation. Tentatively, these indications emphasize the significant question as to the function(s) of the wall and its nature of separation. With their specific qualities of order and signs of both uniform similarities and regulated differences, the patterns may thus be suggested to imply a range of essential social messages including, if one would proceed further with the analysis and incorporate a consideration of the time factor, the question for the particular change-continuity character prevalent within the ancient social structure at Bagasra.

Crossing of established demarcations

With the ambition to investigate without the guidance of predefined entities, using the microarchaeological aim to search for patterns of repeated action without the aspiration to let them result in various 'dimensions of understanding', the toy concept can be suggested to have been highlighted throughout the study as a promising way when deliberately striving to trespass established borders (be it conceptual, geographical, scholarly…). The toy concept may thus furthermore be proposed as especially profitable in case of the site at Bagasra, for example, due to the still highly unknown constitution of the settlement, which should minimize the 'need' for established demarcations. Viewed in larger scale, this may similarly suit the Harappan realm in general, since this sphere may be suggested as characterized by a number of unresolved questions.

Re-naming?

Since the widening of the toy concept should not risk a 'return' into habitual classification interpretations (considering the strong associations the word 'toy' may awake among most of us), it may lastly be of importance to consider whether a re-naming of the 'toy' is of relevance. With 'children' as a free-flying force independent of time and space, it could for example be suggested a re-naming of children as 'the next generation'. The toys would thus become 'the materialities of next generation'. Tentatively, this term would express in a more viable way that explicitly wide, vague and immanent quality that is strived for. This in turn could further suggest the definition 'children's playthings' to be changed to 'children's (play)things'.

However, perhaps should this re-naming only be seen as a clarifying; as has been shown, the thesis has throughout the analysis insisted upon a continued use of the terms 'toys' and 'children' with the utmost ambition to reach an opening of them. With this, they should be considered safe for use at this point. On the other hand, though, perhaps this is too naïve a wish from the author's side at the moment. The question of a re-naming, then, appears to be continued…

End of story – entry of alternative path

In sum, the toy concept may be proposed as an essential including in archaeology, in particular for highlighting the complex simultaneity of change and continuity within the social structure and children's essential roles in this. Perhaps, with a microarchaeological inquiry, it would with

further research become possible to convincingly conclude something as to the nature of the Harappan toy, indeed reaching an insight in that children's material culture that necessarily must exist. For the moment, however, the question of any certainties would probably only result in inhibited effects on the approach.

The aim of the study has thus not been to find any 'truths' but to show what may happen if we look at the things in a different way. The study can be comprehended as a search for an alternative way of approach that renders it possible to hear the stories of the toy-interpreted artefacts. One could in this context return to the emphasis by Asplund on the gap between the creative construction and the (senseless) halt of science at the 'realistic facts' and his illustration of this, among others, with an attempt by Malinowski to search for a meaning behind particular ways of dreaming recorded among local people of the Trobriand Islands. Asplund highlights that contrary to common approaches, the information is thus not solely taken as facts, but handled as a rebus possible to decipher. Although Malinowski's proposed solution of the 'Trobriand Islands' mystery' constitutes a construction and could be accused for 'lack of realism', this is not a hindrance, as Asplund concludes, for the *possibility* of the information indeed to point at the suggested meaning (Asplund 1970:35ff).

As is to be seen, revisions have been made under way, since an entry into the unknown is assumed to gain from different kinds of loans: gender implications have been proposed, modulated and questioned; different kinds of groups and societies have been suggested until being rejected by the adoption of a more open approach. Not totally congruent theoretical schools have been used: departing from a strongly hermeneutic toy definition and proceeding via arguments embracing ideas of contextual archaeology, the study has ended up in microarchaeological considerations despite doubts and objections of the latter on the former. At the same time, I have in my thesis tried to avoid to go too deep into any explicit 'use' of series, since I wish to hurry slowly to avoid letting my attempts become nothing but superficial 'changes of labels' in the end.

This has led me to suggest a breaking up of closed demarcations as a promising entry: messages of the indeed visible patterns may become audible if a departure from separated categories is avoided. Illustrated by the measures of the discs, pointing to an apparently incongruous simultaneity of ordering and irregularity, a focus throughout the study can be proposed which suggests a perspective or principle of *within* (like similarity within difference, change within continuity, innovation within tradition, or vice versa) as a way to bridge seemingly immutable oppositions. Its particular character may be illustrated with the tale of the Brothers Grimm of the clever girl who manages to fulfil the king's impossible task to come to the castle neither dressed nor naked, neither on horseback, nor in any vehicle nor walking, neither on the road nor beside the road: she wraps herself in a fishnet and ties the fishnet to a donkey's tail to become dragged to the castle in one of the wheel tracks, only touching the ground with one single toe (Grimm 1974).

The study is too short to result in the emergence of a new theory in line with the claim of grounded theory. But if it has managed, with its detailed analysis of the cart frames and discs and its framework put up with a mixture of existing theories, to open a door to a field able to contribute to archaeological research, it will have fulfilled its humble purpose more than enough.

…it was a day, long ago, the fire lightened in the kiln behind;
proud I glanced, heavy in that pair of hands still wet with
colour and red
as the fired ground,
happy, happy trembling by sighting their creation –me!

7. Future Research…

A deepened research following the principles and perspectives opened up here is suggested by the thesis to lead to promising continuations within the field in question. Several of the results of the analysis could tentatively draw to deepened considerations. One could for instance recall the exhibiting of the discs of more variations than the cart frames, while at the same time the cart frames display more anomalies. Though only a detail, one could nevertheless suggest this to imply significant differences in social uses. The proposal of the discs to be produced by and/or used within a more allowing attitude may be brought a step further: are they better seen as directed by other *sorts* of regulations? May the cart frames indicate a socially stronger position, in which room for anomalies are more accepted, or serve other kinds of social dimensions which are able to obtain unique features within a uniform structure?

Another example of striking appearance comprises the indicated inside/outside division displayed by the discs since they can be taken to link the two inside areas in the west and southeast together (IW and ISE). Could the discs perhaps, contrary to one's preconceptions, exhibit that (social?) differentiating following the separation of the wall which was rather (if at all) expected in connection with the cart frames? Though the evidence may not be too overwhelming, this would possibly not appear too strange if one considers the aspect of imitation within play which leads children indeed to reproduce social positions of the adults' world. If so, however, why should the cart frames oppose to such a pattern? Their distinct connection of the southern, outside area (OS) with the western, inside area (IW) may with this be given a further aspect of significance since this is not to be seen repeated among the discs. Could it indeed indicate something about ways of manufacture? (With the discs thus comprehended as not being in the same need of a kiln; if this differs from or indeed could be connected to the suggestion made above that the number of discs constituted by 'halves' in this southern area possibly could imply something about the place for manufacture of them as well remains open.) Or is this spatial divergence to be better interpreted in accordance with different social practices and/or social positions of rather unexpected order?

Widening the scope

To be able to grasp the 'cluster' of fibres and threads when using the metaphor in question and form an operational framework, Cornell and Fahlander suggest among others the use of the spatial concept *locale* that, simply said, refers to an area demarcated for a specific analysis and search for structurating practices (and thus must not necessarily be bound to traditionally established, prehistoric units, political entities or the like). With a focus on the particular, a continuation of the microarchaeological approach is accentuated to be constituted by a comparison of different microsituations with a search for repeated patterning within specific locales and between locales, aiming at further trace interrelated fibres, threads and possibly ropes winding through space and time (Cornell & Fahlander 2002a:30ff; Fahlander 2003:63f). The results of this thesis could in line with this serve as a starting point for a simultaneous intra- and inter-site levelled focus. With the proposed elimination and trespassing of established category borders, a widened perspective may be suggested as especially promising when searching for repetitive patterns in this particular case, deliberately approaching toy materials originating from sites divided by time and/or space from the Classical Harappan sphere. This can be illustrated by the following:



Figure 53. Pottery disc from the site of Padri.

The expressions of the discs could be discussed by use of yet another quality which has not been considered here. This is the different pottery types they represent. It would perhaps not be too unreasonable to suggest that the various pottery types, used to define different typologies and debated as to their (social) interpretation potential by different researchers, such

as Choksi (2002) in the Harappan case, may have played a contributing role, resulting in a conscious selection of potsherds to be grounded to serve in hopscotch games. Not having included this in the analysis, it is at the moment impossible to tell, but it may be mentioned here to point at a way of deepening the study. By following among others the theory of a children's capital accumulation, this kind of analysis could be suggested to gain from an inter-site level similar to the one discussed for the cart frames, but possibly from a slightly different point of view. Since the discs are said to occur at various kinds of sites, not only of Harappan constitution, and in different periods of time, one could start from a consideration on what possible appearances of differences and similarities between discs from different sites would tell of social transference while taking into account the double connection of children to children and children to adults. This can be exemplified with a portrayed disc from the site of Padri (Figure 53; the disc is recorded in the Artefact book of Padri excavations 1990-1996). As can be noted, the object displays some visible differences compared to the analysed discs from Bagasra. The reader may recall that the site of Padri has yielded a pottery type of its own, whereas it, similar to a number of other sites in Gujarat, at the same time is in focal point for discussions as to the simultaneous existence of local cultural traditions beside the Classical Harappan. Now, would the differences of the discs simply point to a difference in the assets of potsherds for children, automatically leading to different grounding techniques and different appearances? If one comprehends the differently looking discs as expressions of repetitive practices, they could alternatively be seen as intermixed with ongoing power networks and with this be approached as partakers of a social structure rather than passive consequences of this. Considering their role as toys – or 'the materialities of next generation' – and thus their central location within the continuity-change character of the social structure, the differences of the items could thus be taken to display the intricately linking of children's world to adults' world, the former consequently turning different from other children's worlds if the latter would differ from other adults' worlds. This would lead to inspiring reflections concerning the interplay between the mirror- and adventure mechanisms with an emphasis on the important question concerning differences in the continuity-change pattern of social structures. If using the extension of the fibres and threads metaphor by the long-term rope, one could at the same time reflect upon the circumstance that this object, the disc, appears simultaneously at such a large number of both spatially and temporally separated sites. What kinds of deeply embedded clusters of structurating practices may the purposes and practices of grounding discs out of potsherds reveal to us, and how do they relate to the internal differences?

In reversal, a comparison between sites would supposedly contribute to a deepened insight into aspects of the ancient social structure at Bagasra. A comprehensive study may thus in the long run give valuable contributions as to those aspects of the Harappan as well as related spheres that still remain wrapped in obscurity. At the same time would I emphasize these still-missing gaps and the ignorance of a number of essential aspects as especially suitable for this approach since its definitions are deliberately vague in character and its ambition is to avoid à priori entities.

In conclusion, the toy approach could be suggested as especially suitable for a socially theorized focus on daily activities, studied on micro level by detailed analysis of materials originating from the realm of the ordinary. Naturally, a deepened analysis would preferably include the question of the time factor, since a stratigraphic ordering would become essential. Future research attempts could however also be suggested to gain from the incorporation of ethnoarchaeological perspectives. A focus on the nature(s) of re-use of discarded pottery, or on the ways of manufacture and usage of 'still-living' terracotta toy objects, would certainly contribute to project onto the past considerable and essential complexities, and thus help avoiding too simplified steps of conclusion.

As the reader may see, a continuation of the study hence points towards a range of promising questions.

Appendum

During the later stages of this work, the author was invited by the Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda to participate in the tenth and last excavation of the site at Bagasra, field season 2005. Since the analysis was undertaken before this season's discoveries and results but the compilation was done in light of these, a few words of reflection may lastly be added.

As the reader may recall, the long-searched gate could finally be traced during this last excavation season. It is wide enough to put all doubts aside as to its purpose (Figure 54). This naturally re-shaped essential parts of the total picture of the settlement; the properties of the items were analysed and discussed under influence of the striking absence of a proper entry/exit into the enclosed area. The completion and final formation of the thesis in contrast re-settled the items into a settlement indeed equipped with passage possibilities.

Because the study only includes results from the first field season up to and including the season of 2004, the few more cart frame fragments and the number of discs which were unearthed in 2005 do not take part in the analysis (thus, the only exception to this 'principle' is the including of the figures depicting, respectively, the mound of the site as well as the shell heap in the shell working area, as both in fact were photographed during the season of 2005). The exclusion pertains further to the thoughts which arose while contemplating the areas of the mound which were never put under excavation, or the signs of further brick constructions appearing in the southernmost part of the site, at the last days of excavation. Moreover, at the last moment, looking at the last things, just before delivering the manuscript for printing, I have unexpectedly received some more articles dealing with the toy in archaeology, which I unfortunately, due to time pressure, cannot consider for this thesis…

The frames must be put up somewhere, somehow, to form that suitable locale of need.

I hope I have managed with these frames to demarcate a convenient space. Among the several advantages of having had the privilege to participate in the last excavation of the site at Bagasra was the transformation before my eyes and under my feet of a desk-drawn grid system to a place vibrant of life. The mound turned a reality, complete with trees and bushes and birds and – most important – with a Past indeed awaiting in its soil. This, I hope I have at least partly succeeded in mediating to the reader.



Figure 54. The gate (depicted from the east) which was found in 2005 in the eastern part of the wall, leading into the enclosed area of the Harappan settlement at Bagasra.

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Appendix: *Figures and Tables*

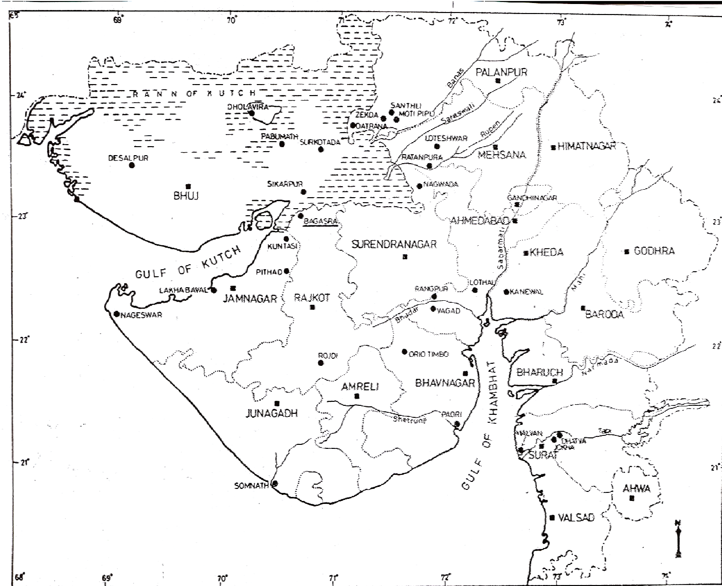


Figure 9. Map depicting some Harappan and Harappan affiliated sites in Gujarat (after Excavations at Bagasra 1995-1996: A Preliminary Report: appendix Figure 1).

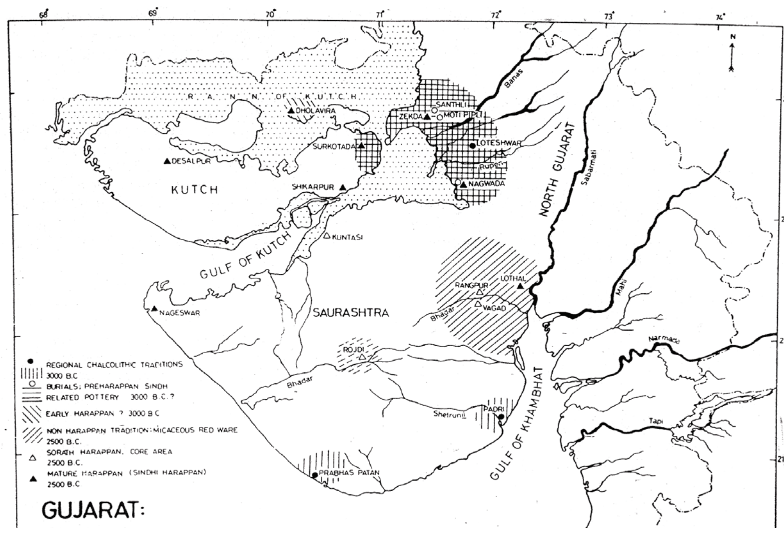


Figure 10. Map of non-Harappan Chalcolithic traditions of Gujarat (after Sonawane & Ajithprasad 1994:Figure 1).

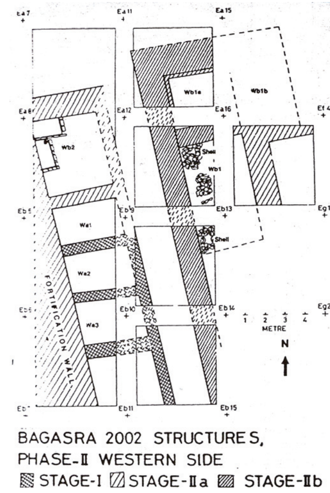


Figure 13. Layout of structures of the western area inside the wall (after Sonawane *et al.* 2003:Figure 13).

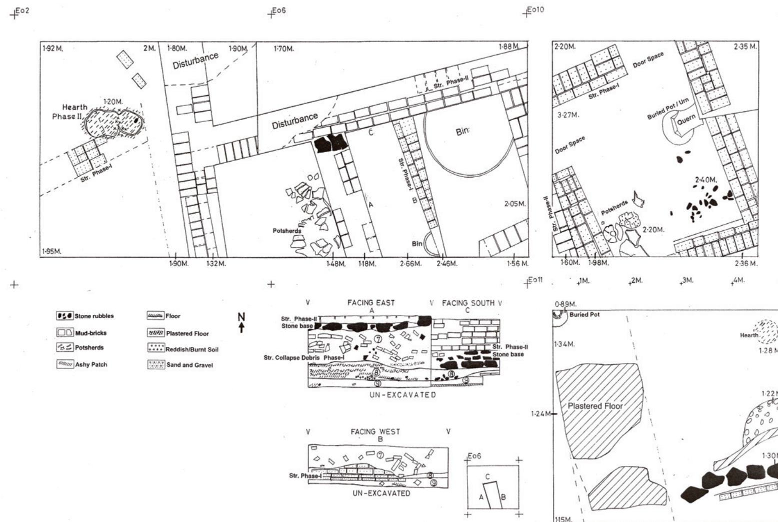


Figure 14. Layout of structures of the southernmost area outside the wall (unpublished material, used with kind permission from the Dept. of Archaeology and Ancient History, the Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda).

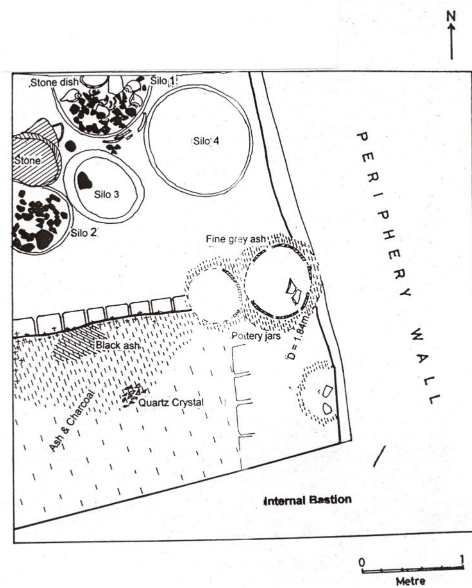


Figure 16. Layout of storage bins and presumed faience workshop in the southeast corner inside the wall (after Sonawane *et al.* 2003:Figure 29).

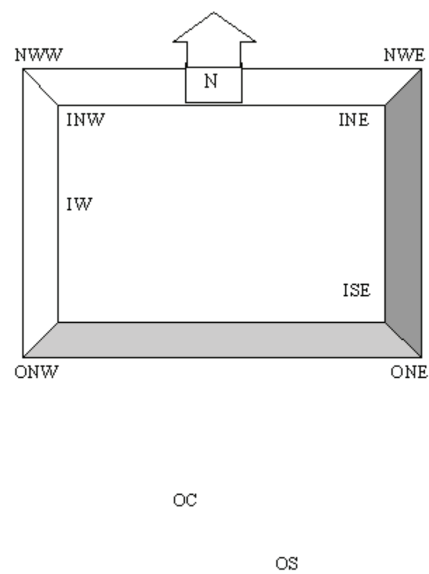


Figure 23. Schematic picture of spatial distribution of designated areas according to the wall.

	Items inside the wall				
Type of item	INW	INE	IW	ISE	Total
Solids	1	2	12		15
Perforated	1	2	2	4	9

	Items outside the wall				
Type of item	ONW	ONE	OC	OS	Total
Solids	2		3	6	11
Perforated	2	2		2	6

Table 2. Cart frames of solid and perforated types related to spatial distribution

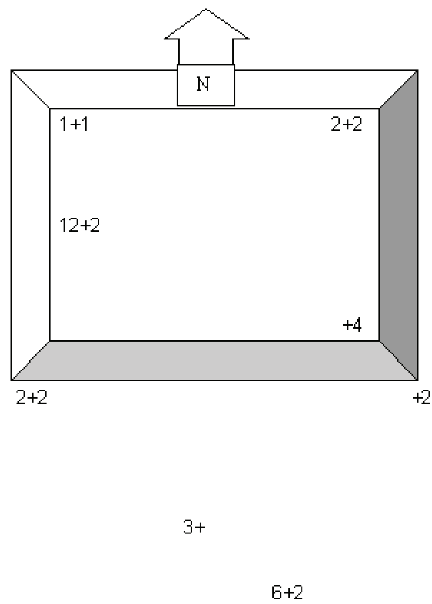


Figure 26. Schematic picture of spatial distribution of solid and perforated types of cart frames according to the wall (the digit before + designates solids and the digit after + designates perforated).

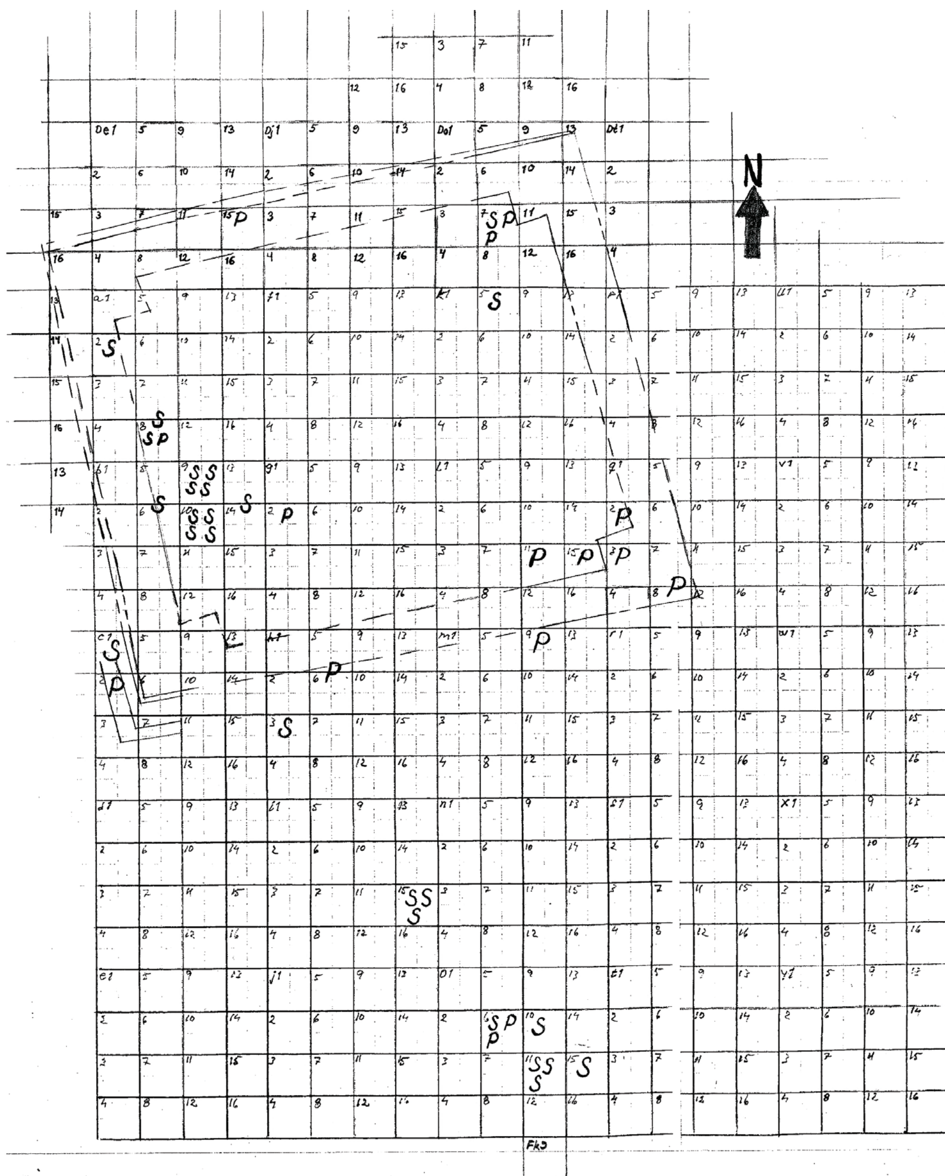


Figure 27. Spatial distribution of cart frames according to the wall and trenches. 'S' designates solid type and 'P' designates perforated type. Each item is placed in its trench of origin.

	Slip and patterning groups					
Type of item	A Not slipped Not patterned	B Slipped Not patterned	C Poss. slipped Not patterned	D Not slipped Patterned	E Slipped Patterned	Total
Solids	7	9	3	3	4	26
Perforated	4	4	3	2	2	15
Total	11	13	6	5	6	41

Table 3. Cart frames of solid and perforated types related to s/p groups

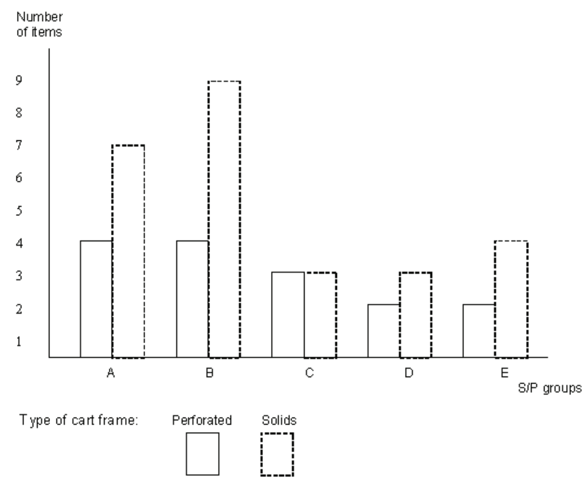


Figure 28. Sizes of s/p groups, solid and perforated types of cart frames.

	Pattern							
Spatial Distribution	Red squares	Red squares with red stripes	Red squares & red dots	Red pattern	Dark-brown squares	White squares	Red cross with red & brown stripes	Incised pattern
Inside W						1 solid	1 perf	1 solid
Inside NE		1 solid						
Outside NE	1 perf							
Outside S	1 solid	1 solid	1 solid	1 solid	1 perf			1 perf

Table 4. Pattern variations and pattern related to spatial distribution, solid and perforated types of cart frames.

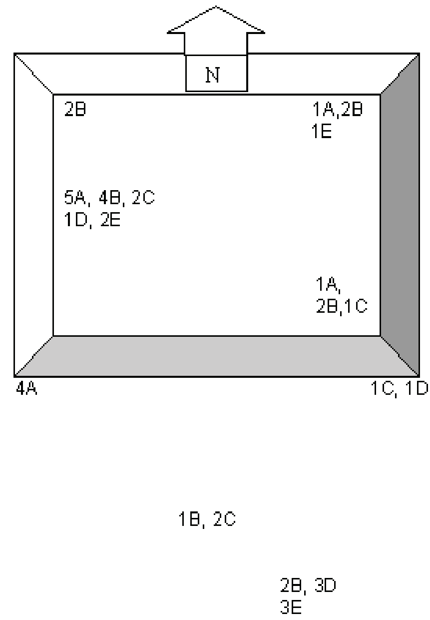


Figure 33. Schematic picture of spatial distribution of s/p groups of solid and perforated types of cart frames according to the wall.

	Slip and patterning groups					
Hole size relation [mm]	A Not slipped Not patterned	B Slipped Not patterned	C Poss. slipped Not patterned	D Not slipped Patterned	E Slipped Patterned	Total
1. Big Hole 5 Small hole 3	1	2	1	2	2	8
2. Big Hole 5 Small hole 2			1	1	2	4
3. Big Hole 3 Small hole 2	1	1				2
No hole size Relation	< 10					25

Table 5. Hole size relations related to s/p groups, solid type of cart frame

	Slip and patterning groups				
Thickness measure relation	A Not slipped Not patterned	B Slipped Not patterned	C Poss. slipped Not patterned	D Not slipped Patterned	E Slipped Patterned
Same thickness of short and long sides		3	1	1	2
Short side 2 mm less thick than long side	1	1		1	1
Items lacking one of the two measures	2	3	1		1

Table 6. Thickness measure relations related to s/p groups, solid type of cart frame

Thickness measure concentra-tion [mm]	Thickness measure/s and sizes of big hole			
	Items with one thickness measure [mm]	Size of big hole [mm]	Items with two thickness measures [mm]	Size of big hole [mm]
10	-10	5	8-10	5
	-10	5	8-10	5
	-10	3	8-10	
	10-	5	10-9	5
			10-10	5
			10-10	5
			10-10	5
			10-10	5
			10-10	5
			10-10	
			10-12	5
7			7-7	3
			7-8	3
Other measures	-6	3	8-12	5
	12-	5	12-11	5
	-14	7		

Table 7. Thickness measures related to big hole sizes, solid type of cart frame

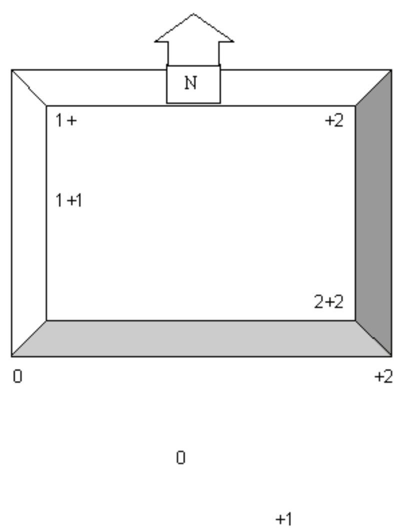
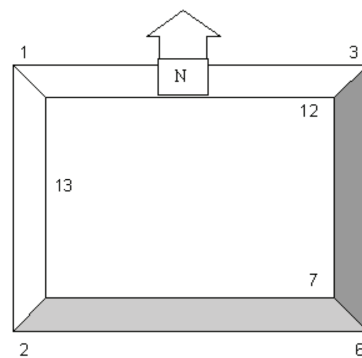


Figure 36. Schematic picture of spatial distribution of width/thickness measure relations of perforated type of cart frame according to the wall (the digit before '+' designates width/thickness group 1 and the digit after '+' designates width/thickness group 2).

	Slip and patterning groups					
Relative size of cart frames	A Not slipped Not patterned	B Slipped Not patterned	C Poss. slipped Not patterned	D Not slipped Patterned	E Slipped Patterned	Total
Large	1	6	1	2	3	13
Medium	2	2		1	1	6
Small	3		2			5
Fragmented	1	1				2
Total						26

Table 8. Sizes of preservation related to s/p groups, solid type of cart frame



1

15

Figure 40. Schematic picture of spatial distribution of discs according to the wall.

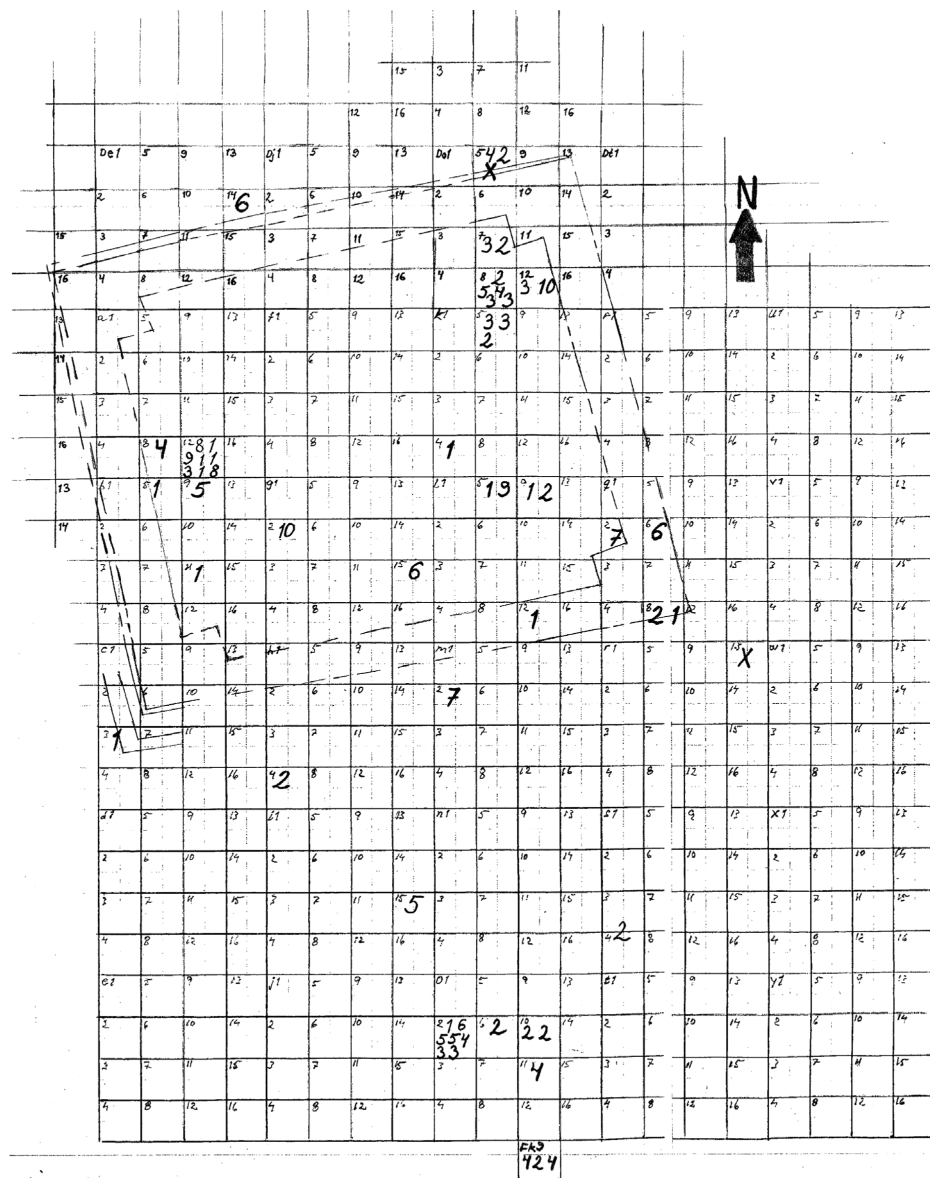


Figure 41. Spatial distribution of discs according to the wall and trenches. Each item is designated by its number of shape group and placed in its trench of origin ('x' designates the shape group exceptions).

Group	Name of shape	No of discs	No of discs with bulges
1	Circular	13	8
2	Circular-irregular	12	8
3	Irregular	9	0
4	Circular-edges	7	3
5	Circular with edge - edges	5	5
6	Almost circular	4	0
7	Circular with edge - irregular	2	2
8	Circular with two edges	2	0
9	Egg shape	2	2
10	Rectangular shape	2	0
	Total	58	28

Table 9. Discs related to shape groups and bulges

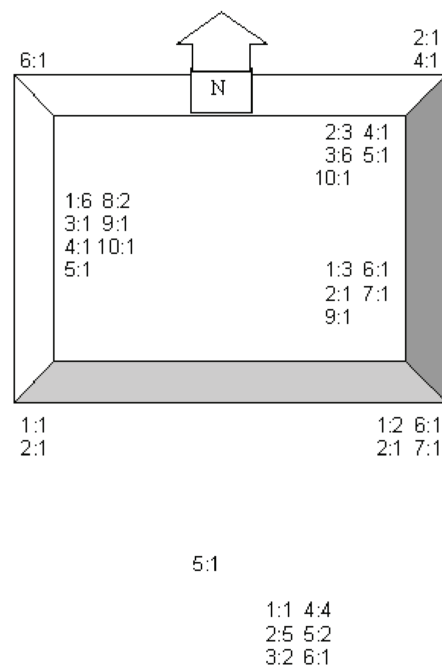


Figure 45. Schematic picture of spatial distribution of shape groups of discs (the digit before':' designates shape group and the digit after ':' designates number. Note that the two shape exceptions are excluded).

	Number of discs within different diameter intervals [mm]											
Group	18-20	19-25	27-30	28-39	30-33	32-42	39-44	45	40-47	49-52	53-56	55-66
1		5				5						
2									5			5
3					3		3			3		
4				5								
5			2								3	
6	2							2				

Table 10. Diameter intervals of discs related to shape groups

	Number of discs within brim thicknesses [mm]		
Group	5	6	7
8			2
9		1	1
10	1	1	

Table 11. Brim thickness measures of discs related to shape groups